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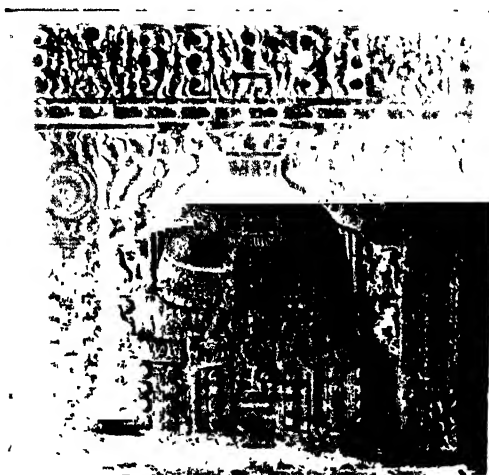
VI

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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July 1931,

[Part I.



Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1931

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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Volume VI.

July 1931.

Part I

OURSELVES.

BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

Ten years ago, this Society was started here by four friends Viz, Messrs, B. V. Krishna Rao, C. Narayana Rao, C. Veerabhadra Rao and M. Somasekharasarma with the object of promoting historical research particularly in Andhradesa by celebrating historical events, holding historical exhibitions, and publishing in Telugu Commemorative Volumes. Accordingly, in September 1922, the Society celebrated the 9th Centenary of Raja Raja Narendra and published in Telugu its first Commemoration Volume called *Rāja Rāja Narēndra Pattabhishēka Sanchika* under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L. It was hoped that the objects of the Society would be fully realised but, ere long, owing to certain unfortunate differences that arose between the first President, Mr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L. T., and the first Secretary, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the work came to a standstill. However, at the General Body Meeting held in October, 1923, Messrs, J. Ganganna, B. A., L. T., and D. Ramamohana Rao, B.A., L.T., were elected as the President and the Secretary respectively and a small Council was also elected to help them for the year 1923-1924. When, in October 1924, the Secretary resigned owing to "personal difficulties", the present Secretary was elected, while the same President was re-elected, for the year 1924-1925.

When I took up the work nearly eight years back, it was with a light heart and no great sanguine hopes that I would be able to carry out the work beyond a few years. But it was my ambition, then as now, that Andhradesa, which is so rich in Research material but so little tapped either by the Government or by the Public, should not lag behind other British Provinces or Native States that prompted me to accept the office and continue the work all these eight years. There were then only 19 members, mostly nominal and the yearly subscription, which was

neither collected nor paid, was one Rupee only. Thanks, however, to the kind help of Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T. who was elected as Treasurer in June 1925 and the valuable suggestions of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., who was elected as President about the same time, it was found possible to increase the membership from 19 to 51 and to conduct historical meetings here and arrange excursions so that Resident members could show their activity in research work in their respective fields. Papers containing the results of research work done by members were read before the meetings of the Society. Such papers were later on published in the Society's Journal.

One of the chief objects that I had in view when taking up the work of the Society—and this was chiefly prompted by my already being a member of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Sarvajanaika Sabha, Poona, and Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna—was to publish in English a Quarterly Journal of Historical Research, containing the research work of the members relating to Andhradesa in particular and this idea met with approval at the hands of the President, the Vice-President, Mr. V. Rangachari, M.A., L.T., Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. C. Narayana Rao, Mr. M. Ramakrishna kavi, M.A. Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, Mr. V. Appa Rao, M.A., L.T., Mr. A. Sankara Rao, and other learned scholars. Thanks to the financial support of the Maharajah of Pittapuram who gave a liberal Donation at the instance of the President, and the encouragement given by several members, it was found possible to start the publication of the first Number of the Journal in July 1926 under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. The response given was so good that membership increased from 51 to 90 in march 1926; to 150 in march 1927; to 197 in march 1928; to 218 in march 1929; to 251 in march 1930; and to 282 in march 1931.

The income of the Society also increased from a *minus* balance in Oct. 1924 to Rs. 83-7-9 in August 1925; to Rs 174-10-0 in march 1926; to Rs 1,214-10-6 in march 1927; to Rs 2,316-7-1 in march 1928; to Rs 2226-10-10 in march 1929; to Rs 2,669-8-11 in march 1930; to Rs 2,459-10-0 in march 1931. The List of Exchanges with the Society's Journal also increased steadily and it now stands at 83 Journals and other Publications (Indian and Foreign) received from the several Scholars, Research Societies, the Native States and the Government of India. The Free Library and Reading Room started in 1927 and maintained by the Society also received liberal Grants from the Madras Government and the Society's Library has now got nearly 800 Volumes. Messrs, J. Ramayya Pantulu, S. Narasimharao, B.A., Bar-at-Law, B.V. Krishna Rao, Myself, and a few other members presented valuable books to the library. The Society's Museum, got up by my sole exertions, has now got Four sets of important copper-plates, several Impressions of copper-plate and stone inscriptions, Photos taken of temples and stupas and of aboriginal tribes, Gold, Silver, Copper and

Lead coins, a few stone sculptures, some important palmyrah leaf manuscripts, and several parchment Letters, Seals, Firmans, etc.

A new set of objects and rules for the society came to be framed early in 1926 and in the same year, the Society was registered under Act XXI of 1860.

The Society also resolved in 1926 to celebrate the "Kalinga day" and thanks to the kind patronage and generous help given by the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimidi, Sir A. P. Patro, KT. B.A., B.L., M.L.C., and other Donors, it was celebrated in June 1927 at Mukhalingam and a commemoration Volume called Kalingadesacharitra was edited by me and published by the Society.

In commencing this Sixth Volume, it is my pleasant duty, on behalf of the Society, to thank the several Members, Subscribers and Donors, as well as the Government of India and the Local Government who have enabled us to carry out our objects and to build a steadily growing and useful Research Institution, the only one of the kind in the whole of Andhradesa. The whole credit of the work is due to the Donors and to the Contributors without whose help the Society could not have done a tithe of its work.

It must also be said that the honorary and willing services of some resident Office-bearers like Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, who has been the Treasurer since 1926 and who has given his best energy and support for the Society all these years, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., who edited the Journal by turns all these years, and last but not the least, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu who, by valuable suggestions, improved the work of the Society, paved the way for the steady progress of the Society whose work is now widely appreciated. If the Society has been able to publish several new Inscriptions and the Histories of some of the little-known dynasties that ruled over Andhradesa from the earliest times, then, it has rightly served its purpose, and justified its existence and given satisfaction to me for the little time I have been able to spare for it out of my leisure moments. The progress of the Society shown above and the frequent references to it in other Journals and Books are fairly encouraging and it is earnestly hoped that, with increasing help from Members, Donors and Contributors, all the Society's objects will be more fully realised.

In conclusion I make the following appeal to the Members:—

- (a) Ordinary Members may be pleased to bring into the Society more of their friends as members.
- (b) They may be pleased to convert their ordinary membership into Life-membership.
- (c) They may contribute or get contributed suitable articles to the Journal.
- (d) They may present Journals, Books or Research materials to the Free Reading Room and Library.
- (e) They may exchange their Publications with those of the Society, or send them for Review.

A STUDY OF THE TELUGU ROOTS.

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., Ph. D.

(Continued from page 100 in Vol V)

(11) *śu*.

- (a) Root plus '*ishy*' :- aḍarutsu (*dhrish*); aṣatsu, artsu (*ras*); alarutsu (*lash*); etc.
- (b) Root plus '*yṛ*', the passive or fourth class suffix:- ētsu (*Vridhi*); kaṣatsu (*karsh*); kātsu (*kāś*); kālutsu (*klam*); kudutsu (*skud*); kolutsu (*kāl*); etc.
- (c) Prefix and root plus '*ishy*' :- alavarutsu (*adhipat*); ulutsu (*ulla*); elarutsu (*vilas*); ēḍutsu (*vilap*); ēmaratsu (*vismṛi*); olutsu (*avalu*); ō ruṣṣu (*avadhri*) etc.
- (d) Nasalised root :- unutsu (*vas*); etc.
- (e) Past passive participle plus '*ishy*' :- agalutsu (*khāta* or *ghāta*); adalu (*ru*) tsu (*dārīta*); kaḍatsu, kadalutsu (*gata*); keralutsu (*kṛīta*); gelutsu (*jīta*); chimuḍutsu (**cchindu*); chilutsu (**cchitta*); etc.
- (f) Denominative:- igurutsu, igrutsu, chigurutsu (*śikhar*).
- (g) Adjective plus '*ishy*' :- ḍulutsu (*sidhīta*); etc.

(12) *ttsu*.

- (a) Root plus '*ya*' :- ettsu, hettsu (*vridhya*); gittsu gruttsu grottsu (*grish* or *kṛish*); tsottsu (*śū*); tettsu (*dhrish*, *trish*); nottsu (*nu*); rettsu (*rich*); vrattsu (*vraj*); vittsu (*vich*); etc.
- (b) Root plus '*ishy*' :- nattsu (*narm*).
- (c) Prefix plus root:- uttsu (*ulchyu*); etc.

(13) *dzu*.

- (a) Root plus '*ya*' :- gōdru (*ghush*); pōdru, prōdru (*punj*) rādrū (*rañj*); rōdru (*rush*); etc.

(14) *ñdzu*

- (a) Nasalized root :- guñdzu (*kṛish*); etc.
- (b) Root :- poñdzu (*puñj*); etc.

(15) *dzdzu*.

- (a) Root plus '*ya*' :- radzdzu (*rasya*); etc.

(16) *ṭu*.

- (a) Prefix plus root :- āṭu (*udvart* or *utsthā*);
- (b) Past passive participle :- āṭu (*āṭta*, *āpta*), gīṭu (*kshipta*); dāṭu (*dhūta*), dōṭu (*dutta*); poraṭu (*prīkta*) etc.

(c) *krēṭu* (cf. *krēñkāra*): *dātu* (cf. *dhātī*); etc.

(17)ṇṭu.

(a) Past passive participle of root with a naṣal:- *aṇṭu* (*añkta*); *kuṇṭu* (*kuñchita*, *khaṇṭita* or *kuṇṭhita*); *gaṇṭu* (**ghnanṭa*); etc.

(18) ṭu.

(a) Root :- *tsātu* (*sāt*);

(b) Root plus *aṭ (*tegaṭu* *ṭrich* and *aṭ*);

(c) Past passive participle :- *Kumuṭu* (*kuṇṭhita*); *taṛatu* (*tashṭu*); *dīṭu* (*dhṛishṭa*); etc.

(19) ttu

(a) Past passive participle :- *uṭṭu* (*udvartita*); *neṭṭu* (*nirvṛita*) *oṭṭu* (*varṭita*); *kottu* (*kutṭita*); *giṭṭu* (*liṣṭa*, *krishṭa*, *ghṛishṭa*); *taṭṭu* (*tādita*); *paṭṭu* (*vcṛaita*, *patita*); *peṭṭu* (*vṛita*) *maṭṭu*, *meṭṭu* (*mardita*); *kāṭṭu* (*krishṭa*, *karshita*); *kiṭṭu* (*karshita*) *kuṭṭu* (*krishṭa*, *kutṭha*, *karshita*); *peṭṭu* (*prahata*);

(b) Denominative:- *puṭṭu* (cf. *vultra*); *moṭṭu* (*mushṭita*);

(20)ḍu.

Past passive participle:- *tsūḍu* (**śushta*); *tēḍu* (*tishṭita*); *tōḍu*, (*dhṛishṭa*); *pēḍu* (*pināḍha*); *māḍu* (*amlashṭa*); *lōḍu* (*lūta*); etc

(21)ṇḍu.

(a) Past passive participle:- *uṇḍu* (*ushita* or *ūushṭa*); *tsuṇḍu* (**śushta*); *paṇḍu* (*phalita*); *maṇḍu* (*mlashṭa*); *vaṇḍu* (*pakta*); *tsenḍu* (*khaṇḍita* or *cchindita*); *taṇḍu* (*ḍaṇḍita*); *piṇḍu* (*pishṭa*); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:- *paruṇḍu* (*pariyushita*);

(22)ḍu.

(a) Root:- *āḍu* (*aṭ*); *pāḍu* (*pāṭh*); *pūḍu* (*pūr*); *paḍu* (*pat*);

(b) Root plus past passive participle:- *begaḍū*, *beggaḍu* (*bijkrīta*);

(c) Past passive participle:- *iḍu*, *imuḍu* (*hita*, *ahinta*); *oḍu* (*avahata*); *chimuḍu* (*cchindita*); *cheḍu* (*cchitta*); *toḍu* (*dhṛita*); *vāḍu* (*amlāta*) *viḍu* (*bhitta*);

(d) Prefix plus past passive participle:- *ūḍu* (*utpalita*, *utpālita* or *utpālita*); *niguḍu*, *nivuḍu* (*nirhāpita*, *nirita*, *nirvṛita*, *nirvṛita*); *negaḍu*, *nevaḍu* (*nyakkrīta*, *nishkrīta* or *nirvṛita*), *pogaḍu* *praḍu* (*prasasta* *prastuta*); etc.

(e) prefix and root plus *aṭ:- *ūraḍu* (*ucchvas*, **aṭ*);

(f) Denominative:- *kūḍu* (cf. *kūṭa*);

(g) Avyaya plus root:- *tegaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (*dhikkrīta*);

(23)ḍḍu.

(a) Past passive participle:- *aḍḍu* (*aad*);

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:- *oḍḍu* (*upahita*);

(24)ṇu.

Denominative:- *tenamaṇu* (*śayana*).

{25}tu.

Past passive participle:- pātu (*pāṭita*);

{26}tu.

Past passive participle:- tsātu (*sajjita*);

{27}ttu.

(a) Past passive participle:- attu, hattu (*bhakta*); ḥttu (*ṭta*); natṭu (**nad*, cf. *nadana*, murmuring); mettu (*mṛita*); mottu (*mushṭita*); rutṭu (*ruddha*); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—ottu (*upahata*, *uddhata* or *udvartita*); etc.

{28}du.

(a) Root plus class suffix 'a' :- aladu (*ārdr*); tsādu (*sādh*); mōdu (*mṛid*); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :- ūdu (*uddhmāta*);

(c) *Avyaya* plus past passive participle :- chidu (*sītkṛita*) or (*siṅghāṇita*);

{29}ndu.

(a) Root:- kandu (*kṛand*); chindu (*cchind*); pondu (*spand* or *pad*);

(b) Prefix plus root :- ondu (*upapad*); etc.

(c) Past passive participle:- kundu (*kruṣṭita*); kondu (*kṛitta*); mrandu (*mrakṣita* or *mrasta*);

{30}ddu.

Past passive participle :- addu (*ardita* or *ārdrita*); hiddu (*bhid*); diddu (*dhrīta*); ruddu (*ruddha*); etc.

{31}nu.

(a) Roots ending in *n*, *ṇ*, or *l*:-

anu (*an*, *aṇ*); kanu (*akṣṇ*); tsanu (*chāl*); tīnu (*trīṇ*); nānu (*snā*)

(b) Root plus class suffix *nu* or *nā*:-

konu (*kṛīnu*); dunu (*dhūṇu*); etc.

(c) Denominative : ānu (*ālāṇa*); īnu (*ījana*); pūnu (*vakana*); pēnu (*vayana*);

{32}nnu.

(a) Root plus fifth class suffix:- dunnu (*dhunu*);

(b) Past passive participle:- pannu (*panna*, *pad* or *pat*);

(c) Denominative:- ennu (*hēlana*); tannu (*tādana*); etc.

{33}pu.

(a) Root plus 'āp' which is wrongly considered to be the passive participle instead of the 'ya' the proper passive participle because it is generally found conjoined with it.

tsāpu (*sādh*); malapu (*mṛid*); rēpu (*rich*);

(b) prefix plus root:- āpu (*apahvi*); ūpu (*upahvi*) etc.

(c) Noun plus 'āp':- tsēpu (*sīdhū*); etc.

(34)mpu.

(a) Prefix plus root:- nimpu (*nirāp*); pampu (*prāp*); etc.

(b) Root plus āp:- chimpu (*cchidāp*); tsampu, sampu (*savāp*);
dimpu (*ḍi, āp*), tempu; trempu (*truṭāp*); dampu (*damsāp*); pempu (*vṛidh, āp*); etc

(c) Prefix and root plus 'āp':- ampu (*ājñāp*); etc.

(35)pu.

(a) Root plus 'āp':- aṛapu (*aś*); kaṛapu (*kṛish*); tsadupu, chidupu cherapu (*cchid*); tsalupu, saulpu, salupu (*chal*); dzarapu (*sar*); tarapu (*trī*); tīrupu (*trish*); naḍapu, naḍupu (*naṭ*); nānupu (*snā*); nilupu (*nishṭ* or *tishṭ*); paṛapu (*pat*); paṛupu (*phal*); malapu, medupu, (*mṛic*) māpu (*mś*); menupu (*manth*); gilupu, girupu (*kship*);

(b) Root and class suffix plus 'āp':- kalapu (*cf. kalayati*); tsonupu (*sri*); etc.

(c) Nasalized root:- tanupu (*trimp*);

(d) Prefix plus root:- ōpu (*avāp*);

(e) Prefix and root plus 'āp':- anupu (*ājñāp*); nerapu, neṛapu (*nirvart*); pāpu (*upās*); etc.

(f) Past passive participle plus 'āp':- kaḍapu (*ghnata* or *kshata*); koḍapu (*klishṭa*); kolupu (*kṛiṭa*); dulupu, dolupu (*dhūta*); nuṛupu, nulupu (*nud*); penupu (*pinaddha*);

(f) Prefix and past passive participle plus 'āp':- uḍupu, ulupu (*upahata*).

(36)ppu.

(a) Root plus 'āp':- uppu (*ush*); kappu (*chad*); guppu (*kship*); tappu (*ṭar*); trippu (*stri*); deppu (*dis*); roppu, ruppu (*rud* or *rush*);

(b) Prefix plus root:- oppu (*avāp*); vippu (*vyas*); etc.

(37)mbu.

Prefix and root plus 'āp':- pambu (*pravritta*);

(38)bbu

(a) Root:- gebbu (*grah*); ḍabbu, dabbu (*ḍa* - *cf. dahara* and *oriya ḍakkucchi*, (he is calling.); drobbu (*drimbh*);

(b) Prefix plus root:- prabbu (*pravah, pravrit, pravṛidh* or *pravad*)

THE KECHALA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KRISHNADEVA.

G. RAMADAS, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.A.O.S.

This Copper-plate is in the possession of an Oriya Bramin residing at Jeypore and he is a descendant of the donee. He brought the plate to me to examine the genuineness of the date. I found that it is one of the oldest I had seen of the charters of the rulers of Nandapur. The Copper-plate was, then, sent to the Government Epigraphist for India and he kindly supplied me with two sets of clear impressions. With the help of one of them, I now edit the document.

It consists of 13 lines in all, written on both sides of the Plate which is 6" long and 2.8" broad at the ends. The language is Oriya and the characters as well. But 'a', used for *amāyāṣya*, is a *nāgarī* character. In line 8, the first *jā* is old type but the second one is Oriya. The letter 'ta' in line 9 is not of the modern form; similarly, *bha* in *bhavāta* (l-12) is not modern. *Sri* is written in the form of the Telugu *Sri*. The palatal *ja* is used for the palatal *ya* also (l-9). The few mistakes that occur in the document are corrected by means of foot notes to the Text.

The grant is one of *Rājāḥhirāja Vīra Sri KRISHNADEVA Mahārāja*; but the family to which he belonged, the country over which he ruled, and the chief seat of his government are not given in the document. Since he grants a village located in the hill-country of Nandapur, we have to infer that he was the ruler of the NANDAPUR kingdom. There are other indications also which show that the donor was an ancestor of the Maharajahs of Jeypore.

The donee, Narasinga Miśra was of 'gaudīa' community amongst the Oriya Brahmins. These 'gaudīas' are believed to have come from Gauḍa country.

The object of the grant is KECHALA, a village on the Kolab about seven miles up the river from the famous falls of Bagara. The modern village has a sub-urb, and the distance between the two is about two miles. From this, the extent of the lands attached to the village can be imagined. It has got all the facilities to grow into a big-farming village but there are no men to cultivate the lands. The land-lord is not rich enough to attract farmers from outside or to do independent farming. But the village itself has relics to prove its antiquity.

In the charter itself it is stated that the village, prior to this gift, had been a free-holding (mokhāsa) Rautu Roi. About a furlong to the south of the village proper, there exist the ruins of an old Jain Temple. The temple itself is about 30' long and 10' broad. The *Tirthaṅkara* images about four in number, are all scattered in the area of the so-called *āsthāna mandapa*. In the inner temple is one *Tirthaṅkara* image and two other images which require special mention. The bigger of the two, why it is the biggest of all seen, measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The image, is of Hariti in standing posture. The pose of the image and the delineation of features are most artistic and indicate the great antiquity of the sculpture. She holds a bunch of mangoes in her right hand and bears a child in her left arm. Below at her feet sits a lion on his buttocks, dog-like, looking at her with a growl. Perhaps he is angry with Hariti for having prevented him from preying upon the child. The second slab is 2' by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ' and represents on it a seated king and his wife and on the left thigh of the queen sits her son. This also exhibits great artistic skill. I think this slab represents the king that had founded this temple. Such is the antiquity of the place, proved by these sculptures.

The date of the grant is given (Lines 1 and 2) in the 'cyclic year "*Bahudhānya nāna Samvatsara Kanya di 28, a 30 Śaṇivāre*' and the gift is said to have been made at the time of a *Solar* eclipse. It corresponds to A. D. 1698 SEPTEMBER 21, SATURDAY which was the 23rd day of the solar month *Kanya* and *amāvāsya* expired at 34 gh. 12 v. gh (Laṅka time) on that day. A *Solar* eclipse also happened on that day. The year A. D. 1698 falls within the period of the reign (A. D. 1686—to A. D. 1708) of Raghunadha Krishnadeo of the list given in the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer. Therefore, Krishnadeo of this charter and Raghunadha Krishnadeo of the list must be one and the same.

Lastly, at the end of the charter are seen some signs and lines. The tradition regarding these has already been given in my article on the Madras Museum copper-plate grant of Sri Ramachandradeo (Q. J. A. H. R. S. Vol III, part I.) Now I propose to discuss the real significance of these signs and lines. But, before we take up their actual study, we have to consider a little the significance of the seals put upon the ancient copper-plate grants.

Till the end of the 14th century A. D. the charters were written on one or more plates and a seal of the donor was attached to it. The seals were all on counter—sunk surface. Perhaps they were put as we now attach seals with sealing-wax. Anyhow each seal was a heraldic badge, bearing the signs of the family, its god and the titles of the donor. Let us consider the seal that was attached to the Nandagam plates of Vajrahastadeva. It is thus described:—

'A thick circular seal, on which is fixed an image of a bull couchant $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long and 1" high with figures of a conch-shell and a chauri to its proper right, the figures of a sword and an elephant-goad to the left, a crescent in front and what looks like a drum at the back. Almost all these figures are seen on the seals of other plates issued by the Ganga Kings who were the worshippers of Siva''.

The several parts of the seal considered separately tell us a good deal of the family to which the king belonged. The crescent indicates that the king belonged to the Lunar race. The couchant bull (the nandi), and the crest of Siva, inform us that the donor was a Saivate. The conch-shell and the drum, the emblems of *Pañchamahāśabda* indicate that the king was, '*Samadhigata Pañchamahāśabda*' i.e., one who had acquired the five great sounds. The chauri the sign of wealth, and the sword the sign of power, are the two emblems of highest sovereign power. The elephant goad tells us that the king was the lord of elephants. Here are the signs significant of each honour expressed in the eulogy of the king. Thus the seals are heraldic badges and therefore they should not be neglected. They point out the family relation with other charters that bear similar seals.


But from the fifteenth century A. D. when the Ganga family was overthrown and the Suryavamsi Kings succeeded them to the kingdom of Kalinga, the heraldic signs were engraved at the end of the charter, instead of being stamped as before. On the reverse-side of a copper plate grant of Purushottamadeva of Cuttack, at the end of the document, are seen engraved (1) a conch-shell, (2) a sign which looks like Telugu 'ba', (3) a double-edged long sword and below it a scimiter. The conch-shell there corresponds to the conch-shell of the Gaṅga seal. The sign 'ba' which corresponds to the couchant-bull of the Ganga seal, must represent an animal, the crest of the god of the family to which the donor belonged. The charter begins with a salutation to *Jaya-durgā-* (*Sri Jaya-durgā-ai-namah*). The king was a worshipper of *Durga* and her seat is a lion. Thus the sign like the Telugu 'ba' appears to be a representation of a lion. Later on, I will show how a lion can be represented by the Telugu 'ba'. The double-edged long-sword and the scimitar are the emblems of highest military power.

The weapons of war that a member of a feudal militia could use by reason of his rank in it, were used as heraldic badges at first and subsequently were adopted into the sign-manual. What represents a 'bhalla' or lance was adopted as the sign manual of the Saloombra chieftains as hereditary primiers of the Mewar state (Todd's Rajasthan Vol I p. 208).

In the last part of a copper-plate grant of Rudradeva, the successor of Purushottamadeva, are seen all the parts, except the conch-shell, of

the engravings of the latter. There is the Telugu 'ba'-like sign; the double-edged-long sword is represented by the two lines meeting in a point towards the left, the first two loops forming its handle. The third loop and the long single-line stand for the scimitar. Thus far, we understand that the heraldic badges of former times became reduced to sign-manual in later times.

The signs and lines at the end of the charter under review are now understood to be the sign-manual of the donor. Let us compare these with those of above. i. The sign like Telugu 'ba' in the latter takes the form of 3 with a tail erect. ii. There is no double-edged sword but the scimitar is shown by a line, passing through a loop.¹ This shows that the donor occupied in the militia a rank next to the sovereign. I have seen the Copper-Plate grants issued by the ancient chief of Salur, Pāchi-penta and Mādgole. In all these, after the sign like the Telugu 'ba', there is a weapon of war shown. Salur, has a double edged short sword, Pāchi-penta, a dagger and Madgole, a poniard. Since these weapons are superior to the sword or scimitar, all these chiefs were feudally subordinate to the rulers of Nandapur.

Now, coming to the sign like the Telugu 'ba' or the tailed 3, I have already stated that a similar sign is found in the charters issued by the vassal chiefs also. I have seen a photographic copy of a letter written by Pūsapati Seetārāmarāju of Vizianagram to Col. Forde, in which the writer has put a sign like  for his sign-manual. A similar sign is found in the charters of Salur and other vassal chiefs. It is said to stand for '*Khāmando*', the lord supreme. In Jeypore it is called the 'Makuta', the crown. Both these interpretations indicate it to be the crest of the supreme lord. The existence of it in all the charters, whether of the rulers or of the vasals, proves that they all belong to one nation of fighting men, or to one feudal kingdom.

It has already been pointed out that it represents the lion, the crest of the goddess of Durga, the family goddess of the Suryavamśi kings of Cuttack. The goddess of the family of Jeypore also is Jaya-durga, which is worshipped as 'Vijaya,' during the Dasara days. During this festival, a flag of white cloth is hoisted outside the place and on the flag is seen a rampant lion of white cloth sown on to it. This rampant lion must be the crest of the goddess of the family. So, the sign like the Telugu 'ba', or like the tailed 3, is only a single line representation of the rampant lion and it was the crest of the Sūryavamśi Kings of Cuttack,

1 Raja Sri Vikramadeo Varma Mahārājulungaru once told me that his father was telling him that the sign-manual of the Plates was called 'Khadga Santakam' the sign-manual of a sword.

under whom the lords of Nandapur were feudal Rajahs. After sometime when the power of the Cuttack Kings was on the wane, the Nandapur Bhūpatis kicked off their suzerainty and became independent. The Oriya zamindaries of Ganjam, even now acknowledge the superiority of the Puri Rajas by giving the dates of their documents, horoscopes and official papers in the añka years of the then living Rajah of Puri. But in Jeypore, no such thing is allowed and the Jeypore chiefs claim equality, even in Puri, with the Rajahs of that place.

The study of the sign-manual of the charter leads us to conclude that the Jaypore family was founded by one who was a feudal vassal of the Suryavamśi kings of Cuttack. This is quite against the family tradition which says that it was founded by a son of Kanakasēna of Cashmir. But authenticated records of the 18th century support the conclusion arrived at by the study of the sign-manual.

Mr. Orme's report of 1784 on the Estate (Nandapur) says that the family is descended from a Raja who was a favourite of an ancient King of Jagannath and Sovereign of the Northern Circārs, and who was given his daughter in marriage and this tributary principality as her dower.

Gaṅgavamsānu charitam, a sanskrit work written between A. D. 1739 and A. D. 1742 tells us of the popular belief regarding this state of Nandapur. It says, that after the death of Madhupa-Bhanu, the last king of the Ganga family of Cuttack, his throne was occupied by Kapilēśvara or Kāpilēndradēva, the founder of the Suryavamśa, and that Khajjala-Bhānu, the son of Madhupa-Bhānu, thus disinherited, went southwards in quest of a throne and established one at Guḍāri. This Guḍāri is the same as the village Guḍāri in the lower division of the estate. After describing some generations in this family, the work says, 'that Padmanabha a ruler of Guḍāri defeated one Mohamḥadan invader, Mallīk, by name, at Nandapur'. This shows that the two regions of Guḍāri and Nandapur were under one sovereign. We may infer that a ruler of Guḍāri might have married the daughter of the Nandapur Raja and succeeded to it after the death of that Raja.

Orme's report and the statement in 'the Gaṅgavamsānucharitam agree in the fact of a prince coming from Cuttack and succeeding to the state of Nandapur. These synchronize with the chronology also.

Kapilēśvaradeva ruled from A. D. 1434-35 to A. D. 1469-70. The year A. D. 1434-35 must be the last year of Madhupa-Bhānu. About this year, his son Khajjala-Bhānu went southwards and founded the kingdom of Guḍāri. The family records of Jaypore say that Vināyakadeo, the founder of the family began to rule in A. D. 1443. This Khajjala-Bhānu of the Gaṅgavamsānucharitam must be identical with Vināyakadeo, the founder of the Jaypore family.

Amongst the inscriptions at Simhachalam and Sri Kūrmam are the inscriptions of three generations of the Śilāvamśi Kings of Nandapur. From them it is observed that Pratapa Gangarāju was the last of that family, that he was living in the years A. D. 1427 and A. D. 1435 and that he had an only daughter by name Singama. Putting these things together, it appears clear that Khajjala-Bhānu who had established a kingdom at Guḍāri in about A. D. 1434-35 might have married the daughter of Pratapa Gangarāju of Nandapur and united the two Kingdoms of Guḍāri and Nandapur into one in A. D. 1443, when Pratapa Gangarāju died. This Khajjala-Bhānu is identical with Vināyakadeo of the family records of Jaypore. So, the origin of the present family of Jeypur is this. A prince of the Ganga family of Cuttack established a Kingdom at Guḍāri subject to the control of the Sūryavamśi kings of Cuttack. In the meanwhile, there happened to be no male heir to the throne of Nandapur. Pratapa Gangarāju, the last of the Nandapur Śilā family, was a warrior, himself (S.I.I. vol. V No. 1170) who might have also observed the prowess of the prince of Guḍāri and in acknowledgment of it might have given him his daughter in marriage and nominated him as his heir-apparent.

All these facts we have been able to cull out from the study of the Sign-manual and correlating the conclusion thereof with the available records of the corresponding periods.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Bahudhānya nāma Samvāhshara¹ Kanyā di 23 a 30.
- 2 Sanivāre² 1 Gaudi ā Narasingha Miśra³ñku dhillāro poṭa⁴[1].
- 3 Poṭāhira[yo*][:-*] Tumbhañku Śuryo grahaṇa punya-Kālarē bhūdāno.
- 4 Sarvamānya Kori rā-utu rā ē mahāpātro mokhāsā Nandapura.
- 5 gaḍadēśa Kechala grāma dāna kori āgya⁵ delā-i-jē.
- 6 grāma tumbhoro putra pautra pāra⁶ paryantē jāva⁷ chandrā.
- 7 rkē dānabhōgo ā-e kori ghenibo[11] ē-thhaku āno avadhi.

1 Read *Samvatsara*

2 Read *Sanivāre*

3 Read *Miśra*

4 Read *Poṭṭa*

5 Read *ājñā*

6 Read *Pāram*

7 Read *chakundra*

ନାହିଁ ୧୧ ରାଜାଧିରାଜା ବିରା ଶ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣା ଦେବୀ ମହାରାଜାଙ୍କି-
 ୧୨ ରୋ ସନାମାତୋ ସ୍ବାଦତ୍ତମ ପାରାଦତ୍ତମ ବା ଯୋ ହାରେଚା ବାସୁ-
 ୧୩ ନ୍ଦହାରୀ[୧] ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀ^୮ ବାରୁ^୯ ସାହାସ୍ରାଣି ବିଷ୍ଣୁହାୟାମ ଜାୟତେ କ୍ଲି^{୧୦}-
 ୧୪ ମିହି ଇ ସା^{୧୧} ଦତ୍ତମ ଦୁଗୁ^{୧୨} [ନାମ] ପୁଞ୍ଜ୍ୟମ ପାରାଦାତ୍ମାନୁ ପାଳନାମ ଇ
 ପାରାଦତ୍ତା -
 ୧୫ ପାହାରେନା ସ୍ବାଦତ୍ତମ ନିଶ^{୧୩} ଫଳାମ ଭାବେତ ଇ ଶ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣନାଦେବା
 ୧୬ ମାହାରାଜାଙ୍କିରୋ ସନାମାତୋ ଇ [Sign-manual].

Second Side.

- 8 nāhi[11*] Rājādhi rāja Vira Śrī Krishna dēva mahārājañko—
 9 ro Sanamato I Svadattam Paradattam vā jō harēcha vasu—
 10 ndharā[1] shashtī⁸ varusa⁹ sahaśrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatē kli¹⁰—
 11 mihi I Sa¹¹ dattam dugu¹² [nam] puṇyam paradattānu pālanam I
 paradattā —
 12 pahāreṇa svadattam niś¹³ phalam bhavēt || Sri Krishnadēva
 13 Mahārājañkoro sanamato || [Sign-manual].

ନାହିଁ ୧୧ ରାଜାଧିରାଜା ବିରା ଶ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣା ଦେବୀ ମହାରାଜାଙ୍କି-
 ୧୨ ରୋ ସନାମାତୋ ସ୍ବାଦତ୍ତମ ପାରାଦତ୍ତମ ବା ଯୋ ହାରେଚା ବାସୁ-
 ୧୩ ନ୍ଦହାରୀ[୧] ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀ^୮ ବାରୁ^୯ ସାହାସ୍ରାଣି ବିଷ୍ଣୁହାୟାମ ଜାୟତେ କ୍ଲି^{୧୦}-
 ୧୪ ମିହି ଇ ସା^{୧୧} ଦତ୍ତମ ଦୁଗୁ^{୧୨} [ନାମ] ପୁଞ୍ଜ୍ୟମ ପାରାଦାତ୍ମାନୁ ପାଳନାମ ଇ
 ପାରାଦତ୍ତା -
 ୧୫ ପାହାରେନା ସ୍ବାଦତ୍ତମ ନିଶ^{୧୩} ଫଳାମ ଭାବେତ ଇ ଶ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣନାଦେବା
 ୧୬ ମାହାରାଜାଙ୍କିରୋ ସନାମାତୋ ଇ [Sign-manual].

TRANSLATION.

On Saturday, the 30th (day of) Asvini and the 23rd day of Kanya in the year called Bahudhānya, at the holy time of a Solar eclipse, was granted to Narasinga Misra of the Gaudiā (brāhmin) sect, the village of Kechala, the free-holding of Rautarai mahāpātro and (situated) in the hill district of Nandapur. This, having been converted into a holding free from all dues (Sarvamānya) shall be enjoyed by you, your sons and son's sons for generations as long as the sun and the moon last. No one shall hinder this. It is the will of the RājādhiRāja Vira Śrī Krishnadēva Mahārāja. (Then two imprecatory verses follow). This is the Sign-manual of the Mahārāja Krishnadēva.

- 8 Read *Shashtim* 9 Read *Varsha* 10 Read *Kri* 11 Read *Svadattam*
 12 Read *dviguṇam* 13 Read *nishphalam*.

INSCRIPTION ON THE NILACHAKRA, IN THE JAGANATH TEMPLE OF ATAGADA.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB.

The few estates that we find in modern Ganjam and Orissa Provinces were founded by the great kings of Kesari and Ganga dynasties in the 10th century and they, as all of us know, were famous kings entitled as Maharajahs of Kalinga, Utkala and Carnata. Our aim is to write something about the Kodala-Atagada Capital in Ganjam District. The kings of Atagada who were popularly known as the Jagadebs were the Mandalikas (Viceroys) of the kings of Orissa and owed allegiance to them. The Kesari and the Gajapati kings of Orissa were so much pleased with their faithfulness, valour, obedience and self-sacrificing nature that they entitled them as the great upholders of their overlords with the title of 'Śarāna-panjara manodharana' In this famous dynasty there flourished one king at about the year 1650. S. S. whose name needs special mention. He was the great Raghunath Harichandan Jagadeb. He had his capital at Langulavani where today is worshipped the great image of Jaganath, a detailed account of which is given in my article, "The stone Inscription of Jagannath Temple of Atagada".¹ The architectural skill in this temple is achieved by following the principles of the "Rēkha" Art. A flag is fixed in the disc on the top of the temple which announces the greatness of the temple. This disc is inscribed in Oriya characters with three Sanskrit Slokas in Śārdula Vikreedita. Two slokas are circum-inscribed in two lines in the disc. One śloka is inscribed in the middle portion of the disc. The disc is blue-polished probably to keep it from being rusted and so it is called Nilachakra. The letters are distinctly seen even today. •

The two slokas circum-inscribed outside the spokes are:—

- 1 रामोनाममहीपति र्यदुदये पूर्वाचलश्चन्द्रमा
देवीयं सुषुवे निशाकरमिव प्रार्चाकलाकोमलम्
यस्य द्वाब्जुजौ महर्गलमुजौ धूतारि भूमीभुजौ
तल्लैको सुवि विश्रुतो गिरिधरः श्री दिव्यमीहोऽपरः
- 2 यस्य प्राणसमा समागुणगणैः श्री प्राणदेवी प्रिया
जातोयज्जठरासुतः किल जगद्बन्धु र्यथार्धो मिधः
क्वासाप्यन्महसो यदीय यशसोयस्यान पत्नान्तरे
ऽर्थाचन्द्रमसो निलीच वसतस्तद्वर्णनेके वयम्.

A brief translation of the two slokas that are circum-inscribed is as follows:—

1. He, that is born to the couple Ramachandra and Chendramadebi, whose elder brother is Girdhar (Girdhar alias Gopinath was elder brother of Raghunath who reigned from Saka 1628-1634. This Raghunath ascended the throne as his brother Gopinath left no heir. His younger brother is Divyasingh noted for his valour by conquering his enemies.

2. His queen was Prānadebi to whom Jagabandu was born. The Sloka in the spokes that is inscribed in the middle portion of the disc is as follows:—

स्त्रीणां मोहनमञ्जरी विषलता प्रत्यर्थिनामर्थिनाम्
कल्पद्रुः सुधियां सुधाकरकला भूमण्डलीमण्डनम्
सैषः श्रीरघुनाथरामनृपति लक्ष्मीपति प्रीतये
शाकेऽब्देखशरत्तु शीतगुमि ते प्रासादमासादयत् .

In this sloka are described the valorous deeds of Raghunath. This Raghunath, to please Lakshmipathi, namely Jagannaath, erected this temple in 1650 Saka, i.e., 1728 A.D. The saka date is calculated thus:— Kha = 0; Sara = 5; Ruthu = 6; Seetha = 1. (When the figures are given in this way, they must be counted from right to left according to the rule “Ankanam vamato gatih”).

Raghunath Harichendan was the ruler of Kodala—Atagada in about 1723. He reigned for twenty years from 1634 to 1645. In the beginning of the reign of his son Jagabandhu there flourished in his court the noted poet Vasudeva Praharaj alias Vasudeva Ratha (Somayaji), the author of Gangavamsanucharitam, a book worthy of being read by all. Herein, he gives a detailed account of the kingdoms or estates that lay between Rajamahendra and Purushotham or Puri. In it was also included the Rājadhāni of Atagada. He has also mentioned the slokas on the Nilachakra in his Gangavamsanucharitam. The descendants of this author Vasudeva Ratho are still in Atgada Taluk. So it may be undoubtedly inferred that he was the poet who lived during the time of Raghunath. He has altered a little the first sloka as given below, the reason for which may be his desire to change the metaphor.

पूर्वाक्षरेव रामचन्द्रनृपते लब्धोदये चन्द्रमा

As Jagabandhu was singular in strength he was appointed as Governor of Northern Ganjam. He was entitled afterwards as the Rajah Bahadur by the then kings of Orissa as they were pleased with his good and valorous deeds. The subjects were very happy during his rule and loved him as their father. So, the poet described him as one who acted up to the very letter of his name.

We could with great difficulty make up this much as it is impossible for a man to sit at the top of the temple and read the slokas on the Nilachakra.

THE PULOMBURU PLATES OF VISHNUKUNDIN MADHAVAVARMA,¹

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A. L.T.

At my request, a set of six impressions of these plates was sent to me by Mr. Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri of Pittapur in 1929 for publication of an article in the Journal of the Society. It is said that the original plates have since been sold to the authorities of the Madras Museum.

This grant as well as a grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasimha I also describe the gift of Polamuru beside the River Tulyabhāga, in Ramachandrapur Taluk of East Godavari District to two Vedic Scholars who appear to be closely related to each other. 2Both the Grants were discovered in Polamuru in 1913.

The present grant, which is an important one being the connecting link between the Chikkulla plates and the Ipūr plates, consists of a four plates and on the first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate, no matter is inscribed, as those sides were intended to cover up the matter inside.

Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". Half an inch distant from the rims on the left side of the plates, there is a hole through which passes the ring containing a seal. The ring and the seal are not forthcoming but it is believed that the seal contains the figure of a Lion, the crest of the Vishnukundins and probably also the name of the royal donor. Except the second side of the third plate which contains only 6 lines of matter, all other sides contain 7 lines each. The matter is in Sanskrit prose

1 A paper on this subject was read by me before the Second Quarterly Meeting of the Society held in October 1929.

2 Under the heading of "Telugu Academy Plates of Mādhavavarma" this Grant was first noticed in the Annual Report on S.I. Ep. for 1913-14 as C P. No. 7. The text of both these Grants was long ago published in Telugu but without facsimiles under the heading of "Puliburu Inscriptions" in the Telugu Magazine "Andhra Seva", now extinct, by Mr. P. S. Sastri himself. It seems they were later on published by Mr. K. V. Lakshmanarao in the Journal of Letters, Calcutta. They have since been re-edited in Telugu and with facsimiles in Bharati for September 1930 and February 1931 by Mr. M. S. Sarma. I published the Grant of Jayasimha I in the Society's Journal for July & October 1930 after reading a Paper on the same before the Society in July 1929. I now publish this Grant, having previously read a Paper on the same before the Society in October 1929.

and poetry also. 'The alphabet' is of the southern type called Vēgi or old Tel-Kannaḍa *lipi*.

The following Orthographical points are of chief interest:—

In some necessary places, there is no doubling of consonants, e. g. varma in l. 6 and 14. The *anusvāra* is sometimes found inscribed at the top of the next letter as in line 40 and it is sometimes represented by the *anunāsika*, as in line 37. The letter *r* is represented by *ru* and *ri* in some places as in ll. 3 and 17.

The subject matter of the grant is briefly this:—Mahārājah Śrī Mādhavavarma alias Janāśraya Mahārājah, son of Śrī Gōvindavarma who is the son of Śrī Vikramahēndravarma granted, free of all taxes, the village of Pulōmbūru on the bank of Daḷiyavāvi as well as four *Nivartanas* of land in Mayindavātika (Modern Mahēndravada) in Guddavādi Vishaya (Modern Ramachandrapur Taluk) to the Vedic Scholar Śivasarma, son of Dāmaśarma and native of Kuṇṇūru (Kondur) in Kammarāṣṭra (Modern Guntur District), on the occasion of lunar eclipse, after crossing R. Godavari with the desire of conquering the Eastern Region.

It is to this Sivasarma's son, Rudrasarma that Jayasimha I (A.D. 633-663) also granted the same Pulōmbūru *agrahāra*³ probably because it was lost to their family in the troublesome period commencing from after the fall of the Vishnukundin power in A. D. 610 and ending with the firm consolidation of the Eastern Chalukya power under Jayasimha I in A. D. 633. The Donee of this Grant is said to be well-versed in the four Vedas and to belong to Gautama Gōtra. He was a native of Kuṇṇūru (Kondur) in Kammarāṣṭra (Guntur District) and having accompanied the Royal Donor to the Godavari District, and being granted the village of Pulōmbūru (modern Polamuru in Ramachandrapur Taluk of East Godavari District) settled there. Therefore only we learn from the Grant of Jayasimha I that Sivasarma's son, Rudrasarma was called the *former owner* of the village of Polamuru, his residence then being Asanapura, a village closeby Polamuru in Guddavāli Vishaya (Ramachandrapur Taluk). This Grant was made by Vishnukundin Mādhavavarma III to Sivasarma, in his forty-eight regnal year, after crossing the R. Godavari with a view to conquer the Eastern Region, (the Praki Rāṣṭra or Southern Kalinga.)

While editing the Chīḍivalasa Plates⁴ of Dēvēndravarma, I discussed at great length the political relationship between the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara and the Vishnukundins of Dendalur. At that time, the present grant was not obtained by me and hence the geneology and chronology of these kings were provisionally fixed in a way which must

³ Vide *Pulimburu Plates of Jayasimha I* published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. IV, Pp. 72—76.

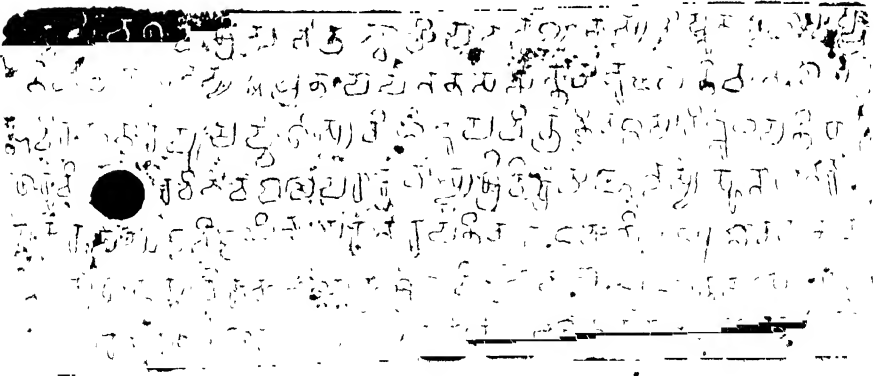
⁴ Vide J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, p. 146 ff.

now be altered. They were then so fixed on account of the conclusions of Dr. Hultzsch while editing two sets of Ipūr Plates.⁵ Hence, I alter them⁶ in the following manner:—

- 1 Mādhavavarma I. A.D. 400-425.
- 2 Dēvavarma. 425-450.
- 3 Mādhavavarma II. 450-475.
- 4 Vikramēndravarma I. 475-500.
- 5 Indrabhaṭṭārakavarma. 500-525.
- 6 Vikramēndravarma II. 525-550.
- 7 Gōvindavarma. 550-575.
- 8 Mādhavavarma III. 575-600.
- 9 Mañchanṇabhaṭṭāraka. 600—.

Text.*

First plate, Second side.



- 1 Svasti Bhagavat Śrīparvatasvāmi pādānudhyātasya Viṣṇukoṇḍi¹nām appra
- 2 tihata śāsanasya svapratāpōpanata sāmanta manujapati maṇḍalasya
- 3 virahitaripuṣaḍvargasya vidhīmdupavitratrivarggasya vibudhapati sādhdya
- 4 śara vira vibhava bala parākramasya Śrī Vikramahēndrasya sūnō anēka
- 5 samara saṁghaṭṭa vijayinah paranarapati makuṭa maṇimayūkhāvadāta ca
- 6 (ra)² yugaḷasya vikramāśrayasya ŚrīGōvindavarmanahpriyatanayah atula
- 7 (ba)³la parākrama yaśōdāna vinaya saṁpannō daśaśata sakala dharaṇī-
tala nara

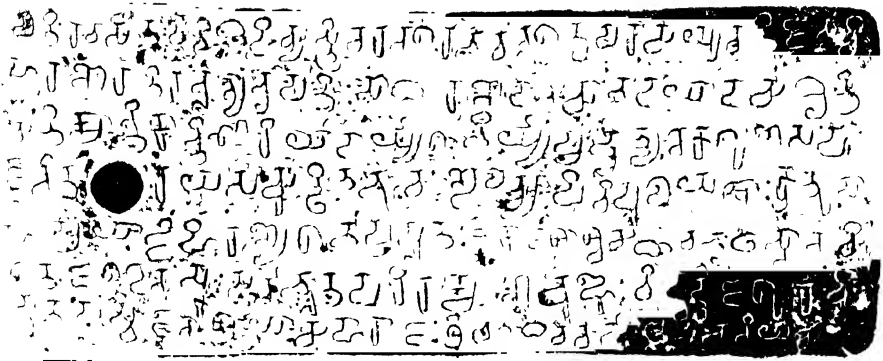
5. Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII Nos. 20 and 21.

6. These were already adopted by me. Vide *Kalingadesa Charitra*, p. 267.

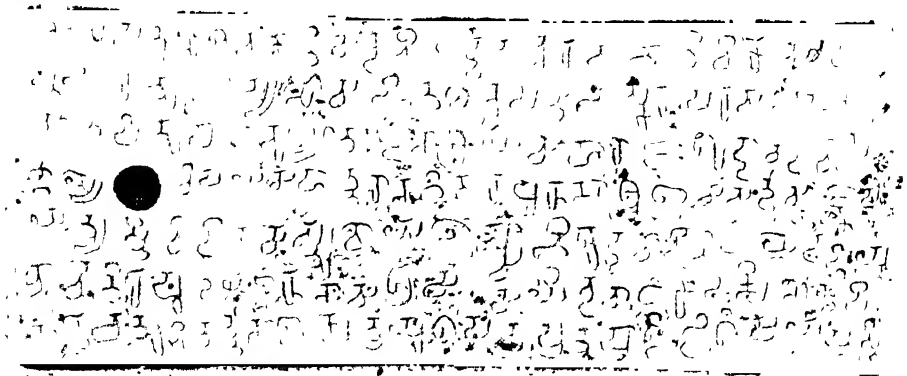
Though the 5th and the 8th kings ruled for longer periods, I have allowed an average of 25 years to each king.

* From the Estampages supplied to me by Mr. P. S. Sastri.

1. Read kuṇḍi. 2. & 3. Not found in the impressions.

Second plate, First side.

- 8 patir avasitavividhadivyaṣṭrivaranaḥṣaṭṭrivaranaḥṣaṭṭrivaranaḥ
 9 haraṇaratir annanya⁴ nṛpati sādharmaṇa dāna māna dayā dharma dhṛti
 10 mati kṣānti kānti śauri⁵audārya gāmbhīrya prabhṛtyanēkaḥ saṃpa
 11 jjanita rayasamutthita bhūmaṇḍala vyāpi vipulayaśōh kratu sā
 12 hasrayāji hiraṇyagarbhaprasūta ekādaśāśvamedhāvabhṛtha snāna vi
 13 gata jagadēnaskah sarvabhūta parirakṣaṇa cuṇḍh vidvaddviḥṇa guru vri⁶
 14 ddha tapasvi Janāśrayō Mahārājah Śrī Mādhavavarmā apica niyamau

Second plate, Second side.

- 15 śana saṁsatvarṇa kaisavarṇa kānti maindaviṁ udvahannurubhāḥ bhāti
 vikramā dā
 16 pṛa bhūribhūh asyaśaumahītala nṛpati bhāskarah Paramabrahmaṇyō
 17 Mātāpitṛpādānudyātah Janāśraya Mahārājah Guddāvadi viṣa

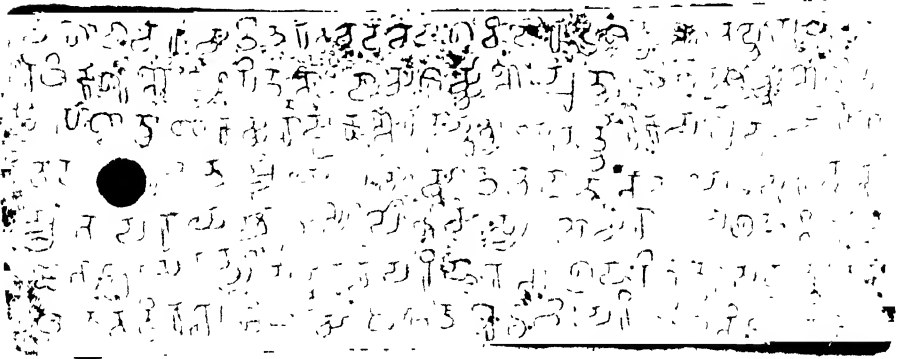
4. Read annanya.

5. Read śauryaudārya.

6. Vṛ.

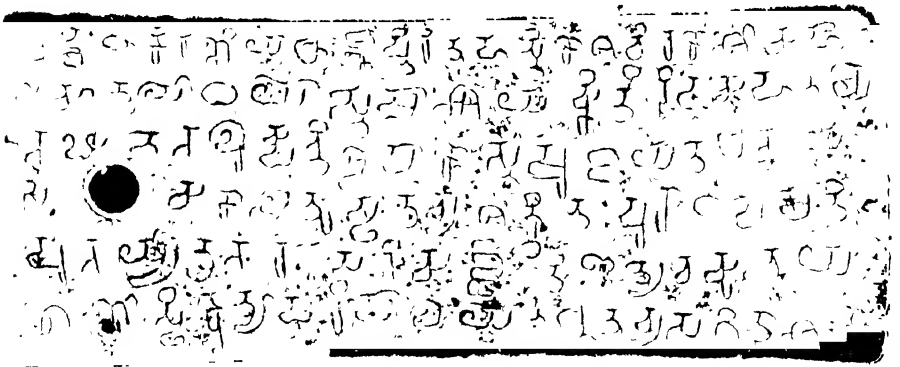
- 18 yyē Viṣaya Mahāttarānadhikārapuruṣaśca imamarttha māñña
 19 yatyasti viditamastu vō yathāsmābhi Guddavādiviṣayē dāliya
 20 vāvitirē Pulōmbūru nāmagrāmāh Mayindavāṭaki dakṣiṇata si
 21 mātē catu⁷nivarttanaṇca kṣētram yugapata pratam Prāgdi jigīṣaya
 prasthi

Third plate, First side.



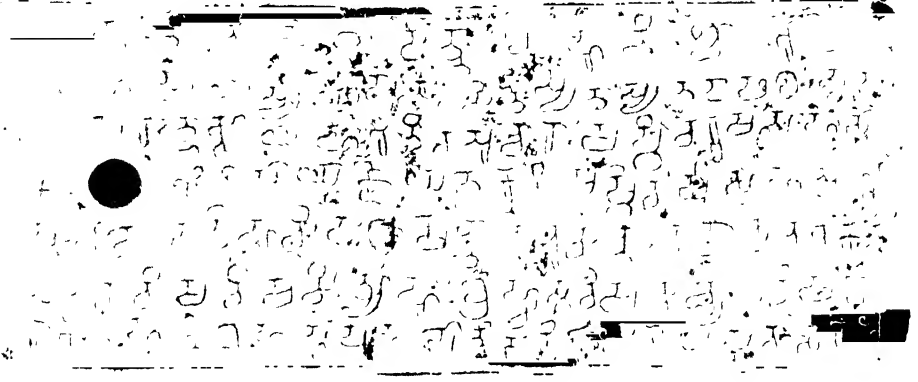
- 22 tah Gōdāvaramatitaram Vēdavēdamgavidō Rudraśarmmaṇō napptre
 svapitu
 23 radhikaguṇādhyāsita tanōh Dāmaśarmmaṇah putrāya ŚivaśarmmaṇēGauta
 24 masagōtrāya Kammarāṣṭa Kuṇṇūra vāstavyāya taittirika sabrahmacāriṇē
 25 Vēdacatuṣṭaya samāmnātāvadātānanāya svakarmmānu
 26 śthānaparāya phālgunya paurṇamāsyāin sōmarāhusagraha nimittē
 27 Janāśraya dattiyāin sarvvakaraparihā iēnāgrahari kṛiya samprattah ta
 28 thā bhavadbhiranyaīśca dharmādhi śata^{7a}-buddhibhih paipālaniyah nakai

Third plate, Second side.



- 29 ścidbādhā karaṇiyā ājñapti rātra⁸ Hastikōśa Virakōśau manā
 30 mātrayōdhayōstēṣāṃ śrēyahkīrti ridam mahat yē
 31 na lōbhēnalumpanti śvapākāsthēṣu jāyatē anyāya
 32 samakālētu sthātavyaṃ śaktitah purā upēkṣati
 33 punaryyatra narakē sa nimajjati ityēvaṃubhaya
 34 gaṇau sthi⁹krtyā paripālayēt atra Vyāsagītā śōkāḥ¹⁰

Fourth Plate, First side.



- 35 Bahubhirvasudhādattā bahubhiścānupālī
 36 tā yasya yasya yadābhūmistasya tasya tadāphalaṃ || Svada
 37 ttāṃ paradattāmvā yōharēti vasundharāṃ ṣaṣṭhi varuṣa sahasrā
 38 ṇi viṣṭhāyāñjāyatē kṛmī || Ṣaṣṭhivarṣasahasrāṇi
 39 svargē mōdati bhūmidah ākṣēttā¹¹cānu mantāṇā tānyēva naka¹² va
 40 sēt || Navīṣaṃ viṣamityāhuh brahmasvaṃ viṣamuṇyātē viṣamē
 41 kākinaṃhanti brahmasvaṃ putrapautri kaṃ || Vijayarāja saṃvatsarē 48††

8. ratra.

9. svi.

10. śōkāḥ.

11. ākṣēptā.

12. narakē.

††. The double letter is interpreted by late K. V. Lakshmana Rao to mean the numerical numbers 40 and 8.

Translation of the Inscription:—

Ll. 1-17. Hail! The dear son of Śrī Gōvindavarma, who is the victor in several battles; whose feet are shining with the lustre of the gems contained in the crowns of other Kings; who is the abode of prowess; and who is the son of Śrī Vikramahēndra who meditates on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrīparvata; whose edicts pass unchallenged with the name of Vishnukundi; who has the circle of kings reduced to vassalage by his own power; who got lost the six groups of enemies;¹ who got the three groups²; which are as pure as Brahma and Moon, who equalled Dēvendra in arms, valour, strength and prowess,—the glorious Mahārāja Mādhavavarma, who is endowed with peerless strength, prowess, prestige, charity and modesty; who subdued the kings of the whole earth of ten hundred villages; who is the peerless king in delighting the hearts of the young women living in the several excellent palaces of Trivāṇaṅgara; who enjoys great prestige spreading over the whole earth due to uncommon charity, self-respect, kindness, piety, strong mind, brightness, valour, magnanimity, grandeur and several other fine qualities; who has performed one thousand sacrifices and gave Hiranyagarbha³; who got removed the stains of the world by bathing in pure waters, after performing eleven horse sacrifices; who is interested in the protection of all living objects; who is the sure refuge of the wise, the twice-born, the teacher, the old and the hermit; who has the wisdom of Śukra, the strength of Viṣṇu, and the lustre of Moon who obtained by his valour the vast Earth; who is the Sun for all the kings of the earth; who is the best Brahman; who is devoted to the feet of his mother and father; and who is styled Janāśraya Mahārāja;

Ll. 17-26. Commands, as follows, all Officials and *Mahattaras* of the District of Guddavādi:—Let it be known that by me was granted, after crossing River Godavari with the desire of conquering the Eastern Region, the village of Pulōmbūru on the bank of Daḷiyavāvi in Guddavādi district as well as the field of four *Vivarttanis* lying to the south of Mayindavāṭa, to Śivaśarma of Gautamagotra, who is a native of Kuṇṇūru in Kammarāshtra; who is the true *Brahmachāri* of Taittirika branch; who is well-versed in the recital of the four Vedas and who is devoted to the discharge of his own religious rites and who is the son of Dāmaśarma who is adorned with several fine qualities and who is the son of Rudraśarma who knew Vedas and Vedaṅgas also.

1. *kāma*, *krôdha*, *lobha*, *môha*, *mada* and *matsara*.

2. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*.

3. It is the name of the fifth of the sixteen *Mahādānas*.—the gift of a Gold
• cow.

Ll. 26-29. The gift, having been made into an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes, was made by Janāśraya on the occasion of the lunar eclipse which occurred on full Monday in the month of Phālguna.

Ll. 29-34. The Executors for this grant are Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa who are great warriors and whose duty it is to protect the Grant.

Ll. 35-41. Then follow four of the usual Vyāsa *Ślokas* with regard to the beneficial results for protecting the Grant and the evil consequences for destroying it.

L. 41. (The Grant was made) in the 48th year of the victorious Rule.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KAKATIYAS.

II. Rudra. 1158—1195. A.D.

• M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) M.R.A.S.

Early history :—Rudra, son of Prōla II, is one of the most famous of Andhra monarchs. By his military exploits and consummate statesmanship, he transformed the Kakatiya kingdom into the Kakatiya Empire. He encouraged learning and literature and gave a stimulus to art and architecture. Epigraphy is our main source for the chronology of his reign. His glorious military campaigns are engraved at Anumakonda in easy flowing and luxurious Sanskrit verse. Local Records and traditional literature throw plenty of light on this monarch's reign. It may be noted in this connection that this king is wrongly called Prataparudra I in some works, while in others, he figures as Rudra I. The last monarch of this dynasty is called Pratapa Rudra II. This nomenclature is by no means warranted and is the result of ignorance. There is no need thus to differentiate the obviously separate names of Rudra and Pratapa Rudra. In inscriptions and literature the latter is known as ViraRudra, while the former figures as Kakati Rudra.

We have already stated previously that Rudra's earliest date is obtained from a Drākṣhārāma record of S. 1080¹. The next and the most important date of the reign is given by an inscription at Anumakonda which narrates the military exploits of Rudra.² There is some difficulty with regard to this monarch's last regnal year. It has till now been a matter for conjecture. It is known from reliable epigraphical evidence that Rudra's nephew, Ganapati, succeeded to the Kakatiya throne in A.D. 1199, though his reign actually commenced ten years later.³ Epigraphy mentions that Rudra was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva who had a very short rule. Rudra's latest obtainable records range up to A.D. 1186,⁴ and it has not been possible to locate correctly the termination of his reign and the duration of that of his brother, between 1186 and 1199. But an inscription from Pillalamarri in the Nizam's dominion, clarifies matters when it mentions that Rudra was ruling in (S. 1117) A. D. 1195.⁵ Since no later records of this monarch are at present available, his regnal period may be tentatively fixed between 1158 and 1195 A. D.

1 S.I.I. IV No. 1107.

2. J. A. XI 276 Tel. Ins. No. 6 Kakatiya.

3 No. 196 of 1905.

4. S.I.I. IV No. 1151.

5. Tel. Ins. No. 7 Kakatiya;

Rudra ascended the Kakatiya throne at Anumakonda at a critical juncture in the Deccan history. On the East Coast, the power and glory of the Velnādu family were fast decaying having reached their zenith during the reign of Choda II (1163-1181). In the South-East, the Telugu Cholas got firmly established at Nellore, Konidena and Pottapi and were making rapid advances, even by interfering in South Indian politics. To the north of the Godavary, the Eastern Gaṅgas held sway. On the West coast, the Kalachuris were put down by the Lingāyats and there was chaos and confusion prevalent at Kalyān. The Yadavas were strenuously expanding their territory. In the Chalukyan dominion itself, all the feudatories became independent and were struggling with each other for existence and expansion. It was a trying time for the newly established kingdom of Anumakonda.

His conquests:—Rudra was a great warrior and a greater statesman than his father. Two problems confronted him immediately after his accession—the subjugation of the petty chieftains around his kingdom and avenging the death of his father.⁶ He achieved both these objects in a glorious way. The Anumakonda record mentions the following rivals of Rudra:—

Domma, Mēda, Mailagi, Bhīma, Chōdōdaya, and Tailapa.

Domma has not till now been identified. While narrating the exploits of Prōla, we have seen that this chieftain figures along with Mēda and Jagaddēva. According to Tradition, he seems to have been the ruler of the Dharmapuri and Lēmuvāda region extending up to Bhadrāchalam in the upper part of the Godavary district. By conquering this chieftain, Rudra extended his kingdom up to the sea in the East.

Mēda also is unknown to history. At Govindāpuram in the Pākhal taluk of the Hyderabad state, there is an inscription which mentions interesting details about Mēda. He was the son of Duggarāja of the Mādhavavarma family and ruled over the region between Kuruvapatta in the Warangal district and the Godavari. The record in question⁷ registers a gift of his minister in A. D. 1127. Thus both Domma and Mēda appear to have been older contemporaries of Rudra.

Mailagi has been wrongly identified with the Yadava king of that name. This is opposed to the data given in the Anumakonda inscription. It is said that Rudra obtained the overlordship of the "Polavāsadēśa" by defeating Mailagi. A Mailagi figures in a record at Jagatyalā⁸ and the taluq of that name is even to day known as "Polāsa"

Taila is said to have died out of fear of Rudra. This evidently refers to the dethronment in 1158 and flight to Annegiri and the subsequent obscurity of Taila III.

6 Prola II the father of Rudra appears to have been slain by prince choda son of the Velnādu ruler Gonka II.

7 Vide Bharati vol, VII No. 6.

8 Ibid

Bhīma was by far the most powerful of Rudra's foes. Immediately after the fall of Taila III, the former usurped the Chalukyan throne. Unscrupulous and ambitious as he was, he cleared his way by slaying his elder brother Gōkarṇa while at meal and entering into illicit dealings with his step-mother. These evil deeds roused the ire of Rudra who set out on an expedition. Vardhamānapura, the capital of Bhīma, was destroyed and its ruler fled to the forest. Rudra occupied the town and constructed a big tank in it.⁹ Neither this Bhīma nor his capital have been till now identified. Vardhamāna may be taken to correspond to Waddamarri about 50 miles S. W. of Warangal. An inscription from Māmiḷlapalli gives the geneology of a Telugu Choḍa family which ruled from this place.¹⁰ In the lineage of karikāla, there was a Gōkarṇa, his son was Udayāditya; his sons were Bhīma and Gōkarṇa, the donors figuring in this record of A. D. 1118. Besides revealing a further step in the expansion of the Kakatiya dominion, this inscriptions is of great importance for the history of the Telugu Choḷas.

The next rival of Rudra was Chōḍōdaya, towards whom Rudra pursued a conciliatory policy by marrying his daughter Padmā.¹¹ It is now possible to establish the identity of Chōḍōdaya on the basis of a number of records from Hyderabad state. An inscription from Jetcherla dated A.D. 1162 mentions a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kandūri Undayana Chōḍa Mahārāja of the Karikāla family.¹² Another from Kolanupāka dated C.V.E. 12. records his charities.¹³ A third epigraph from Nēlakondapalli dated A. D. 1125 also mentions him.¹⁴ Udayachōḍa may be reasonably identified with the Telugu choda ruler of the above inscriptions.

The exploits narrated so far brought all the Telugu Districts of the Nizam's dominions under Rudra's rule and most of the dangerous chieftains who were formerly Chalukyan feudatories, were subjugated. Rudra now turned his attention towards Velnāḍu whose ruler had formerly killed his father. Apart from sentiment, prudence and necessity also lead this monarch on to the East coast. The Yādavas in the North and the Kalachuris in the West, forbade expansion in those directions. Many evidences prove that Rudra invaded the Velnāḍu country. We have previously shown that his earliest record (A.D. 1158) is found at Dāksharāma and that it also gives the latest regnal year of Prola who was slain by Prince Choda of Velnāḍu. This also shows that Rudra was present in that conflict. In the Anumakonda record, it is said that Rudra's dominion extended up to Srisailam in the South. A record of

9 The Anumakonda Inscription.

10 Vide Bharati vol. VII No. 6.

11 The Anumakonda Ins.

12, Tel. Ins. No. 6 Miscellaneous,

13 Vide Bharati vol. VII No. 6.

14 Tel. Ins No. 2 Miscellaneous

this monarch is also found Tripurāntakam. Both these places were formerly in the possession of the Velnāḍu rulers. It is therefore evident that Rudra conquered both these places from the contemporary Velnāḍu ruler Gonka II. (1132—1163) by 1162. A. D., the date of the Anumakonda record. This may be taken as the first phase in the struggle. The second phase is marked by sporadic warfare. Gonka II. was succeeded by his son Choda II. (1163—1181). A number of 'rival chieftains (like the Kolani and Kōṇa) disturbed his rule frequently, while the Telugu Cholas harassed the southern and Western borders.¹⁵ Rudra seems to have taken advantage of this and to have extended his dominion up to the Northern bank of the Godavary. The defeat of Domma has made him master of the country lying to the North of it. A number of Kākatiya records at Drākshārāma bear the truth of this contention. Inagāla Brahmiṛēddi, a Minister of Rudra, figures at this place in A. D. 1158.¹⁶ While a record dated A.D. 1168. mentions Dannamadēvi, a queen of his.¹⁷ The final phase of the struggle is marked by the entry of the Kakatiyas into Velnāḍu proper and the destruction of the ruling family. Choda II. was succeeded by his son Gonka III. who ruled from 1181-1186. During this period, the Velnāḍu kingdom was broken into several pieces and many rivals were actively making progress. There seems to have been a great fight about A.D. 1186 in which all the contending parties were involved. There is an inscription of Rudra dated in this very year at Dākshārāma; nothing more is known of Gonka III subsequent to this year. His son Prithviśvara crossed the Godavary and took shelter at Pithāpuram.¹⁹ These facts show that Rudra took advantage of this crisis in the Velnāḍu country, entered it and inflicted a crushing defeat on Gonka III. and probably slew him, thus avenging the death of his father Prola. This initial and marching Kākatiya conquest paved the way for the consolidatory and substantial annexation of the Velnāḍu country by Rudra's nephew Gaṇapati.

Thus ended the glorious campaigns of Rudra. They not only extended his dominion but also laid the seeds of the future empire. His territorial expansion in the South brought the Kākatiyas to the threshold of the Telugu Cholas. In the East, they came face to face with the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. Rudra seems to have made an attempt to extend his influence in the North also, though this resulted in a disastrous failure towards the close of his reign.

15, For a full discussion of the question See my paper on "The Velnadu chiefs" in J.A.H.R.S. V. pt. 1.

16 S.I.I. IV 117.

17 Ibid No. 1095

18 The Pithapur pillar inscription of Prithviśwara

19 See my paper 'Some interesting facts about the Kakatiyas' ff 8

Hi Subordinates:—Inscriptions and literature bring to light the names of many generals and subordinates of Rudra. We have already mentioned that the minister Brahmireddi appears in a Drākshārāma record. The *Śivayoga Sāramu*, a recently discovered Telugu MSS. of great historical value, mentions that towards the close of his reign, Rudra fortified Warangal and attended to state matters therein, with Peda Mallana and China Mallana of the Indulūri family, as his ministers.¹⁹ An inscription from Karīm-nagar tells us that Gangādhara was another minister of Rudra.²⁰ Having been a palace official in the reign of Prola, Gangādhara was elevated to ministership in the reign of Rudra. He was a pious person and instituted a number of gods at Anumkonda, Hidimbāśrama, Mantrakūta and Nagarūr etc. Mention must next be made of the valiant generals of the Rēcherla family. It has already been stated that Kāmachamūpathi of this family took an active part in the campaigns of Prola II. His sons, Bēta, Kāta and Nāma flourished in the reign of Rudra. Bēta is known, from his titles and from the descriptions in his wife Erakasāni's records, to have been valiant and charitable. It is possible to fix an interesting fact about him from his brother 'Nāmireddi's records. In an inscription of A.D. 1202, Nāmireddi bears all the family titles while in another of A.D. 1195 he does not have them. This shows that Bēta the elder brother, must have died between A. D. 1195 and 1202. Probably, he took the field against the Yādavas along with his sovereign Rudra and was killed in the fight.²¹

Literature:—Rudra was not only a great fighter but also a great scholar and patron of learning. He encouraged Telugu, Sanskrit and Canarese. One of the Drākshārāma records calls him "*Vidyā vibhāṣaṇa*". This monarch is the reputed author of the Sanskrit work called "*Nītisāra*" which was later followed by Baddena in his Telugu work "*Vītisāstramuḥtāvali*". Mallikārjuna Panditārādhva, the famous Virasaiva Divine and his disciple Palkuriki Sōma were contemporaries of Rudra and were patronised by him. The spread of this new faith and its literature in the Telugu and Canarese countries was largely due to this patronage of the Kakatiyas.

Religion:—A religious revolution of far-reaching consequences, took place about this time and greatly influenced the Telugu country. Bijjala of the Kalachuri family dethroned his Western Chalukyan suzerien Taila III and occupied his place. He was a jain by faith, Very soon there was a Saivite reaction heralded by Basava. The latter realising the value of political power for the spread of religion and especially of a revolutionary movement, sought service under the usurper and quickly rose to the position of minister-in-chief. This facilitated his vanquishing and

20 Tel. Ins. No. 5 Kakatiya

21 This matter has been discussed in my 'History of the Recherla family' vide J.A.H.R.S. V pp. ii

destroying the Jains, The spread of Basava's Vira Saiva cult quickly reached the climax and a Jain monarch and a Saiva minister could not exist together. In the consequent struggle, Basava went to the extent of getting rid of his master Bijjala by stealth.

This new faith which spread by word and weapon was only a modification of the previous Saivism, though Basava gave it a new tone. It dispensed with all distinctions of caste and the religious duties pertaining thereto. It laid emphasis on devotion and heroism which often became fanatical. Siva is the supreme being and the end of all devotion. The *linga* was worn by every follower of this school and elaborate ritual was evolved for its worship. Sacrifice, mutilation and self-torture were held to be proofs of a high order of devotion. A new priestly order was evolved in the shape of the *Jangamas*. Guru, Linga and Jangama became the catch words of this faith. It combined the Monism of Sankara with the intensely devotional faith of the Ālwārs and by adding to it the elements of heroism and cosmopolitanism of a high order, evolved the dynamic Vira Saiva faith. Like the Buddha, Basava preached his teachings in the vernacular and this enhanced their popularity and spread. That both the canarese and the Telugu countries were soon brought under the influence of this school is shown by the large number of Vira Saiva works in the literatures of both the countries during the 12th century. Many poets like Palkuriki Soma wrote in both the languages.

It must however be noted in this connection that Vira Saiva underwent some modification in the Telugu country. Even during the time of its founder, a certain amount of rigid conservatism was shown in this country. It was felt a little too drastic a sweep and its social aspect was never accepted even by Mallikarjuna Panditārādhyā, one of the foremost saivite divines and contemporaries of Basava. He deplores his inability to give up his caste, though he reached perfection in every thing else. This was only typical of the times. There were also other factors that tended to mitigate the cosmopolitan vigour of the new faith. Immediately after the death of Basava, there was a revolution at Kalyān and the consequent restoration of the Kalachūri family. Just at this time another wave of orthodox Saivism was passing over South India and gradually spreading into the Telugu country. This was the result of intense religious propaganda carried out by preachers of the Gōḷagi School, from the Dāhala contry. Their influence seems to have been felt in the Andhradesa very early in the reign of Rudra's nephew Gaṇapati.²²

'*Social Changes*:— As in religion, intense changes were taking place in contemporary society. The closing period of Rudra's reign coincided with the famous war (1176—1182) in Palnādu. Having its

origin in a domestic dispute between two groups of step-brothers, the war involved many of the leading chieftains of the Telugu country, including the Kakatiyas of Anumakonda and even the distant Kalachuris of Kalyan. Soon after the commencement of the struggle, social and religious reforms of an important nature crept into it. Brahmanāyadu one of the chief partisans initiated both these measures. He was a pious disciple of the famous Vaishnavite saint Rāmānuja and developed the cosmopolitan aspect of that faith. Warriors of reknown were gathered from far and near and organized into a separate group, irrespective of their communal subdivisions. Though this measure of social fusion was at first the result mainly of military necessity, it brought into existence a new class of people who had no hoary communal prestige to fall back upon excepting their martial abilities. As a consequence therefore, the people found themselves in a piteous plight immediately after the conclusion of the Palnādu war. Completely segregated from society they were forced to depend upon their arms, for their very existence. These outcaste mercenaries soon found favour with the Kakatiyas who were the then leading power in the Telugu country.

The origin and early history of this community which came to be known as the Padmanāyakas, is obscure. Some attempts have been made to unravel this mystery but most of the previous writers have committed the mistake of reading inferences into the facts instead of inferring from them. There are three literary or quasi-literary works which throw light on the origin of this community—"The history of the Padmanāyakas", "the history of the heroes of Palnādu" of the poet Srinātha and the "Kreedābhīrāmamu" of Vallabhāmātya. The first source mentions that the origin of heroes should not be questioned because some of them were Reddis, some were nāyakas, and some Konkans. Just as a village drain merging in the floods of a river, becomes holy, the Kāpus, Velamas and Kammas were formed by being patronized by the Kakatiya Kings. In another place it is said that the Padmanāyakas belonged to a community which cut away from the Reddis and fought with them. In yet another place the Reddis are replaced by the Kāpus. Thus this traditional history of the Padmanāyakas gives proofs of an intermingling of several communities.²³ Poet Srinātha's history mentions that in the forces of Brahmanāyadu were included a Panchama, a brahmin, a shepherd, a dohby and a potter and that all these were made to interdine on the battle-field. Vallabha also lays stress on this interdining as one of the chief causes of the Palnādu war.²⁴ As for the name "Padmanāyaka" we

²³ This MSS is preserved in the Madras Oriental Mss Library. Another Mss version of the history has been recently added to the library of the AHS

²⁴ Vide History of the Andhras vol. II p. 248

may, in the absence of any specific objection, surmise with Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, that it was derived from Padmana alias Bādanna, the elder brother of Brahmanāyadu.

Tradition unanimously associates the rise of the Padmanayakas with the Kakatiya kings. Already in the reign of Ganapati, they seem to have been well known in the kingdom and at the Kakatiya Court. We have stated that the community itself was formed after the Palnādu war. Evidently therefore it rose to power towards the close of the reign of Kakati Rudra. It is now possible to support this view by citing epigraphical evidence. Tradition mentions a Bēta as the first member of this family. Some writers have wrongly identified him with the Bētireddi of the Pillalamarri inscriptions on the one hand and Brahmanāyadu of the Palnādu war, on the other. They got over the geneological divergencies by a policy of plastic identifications. Ultimately their so-called history of the Padmanayakas turned out to be a mass of broken bones. I have shown elsewhere that the Pillalamarri family has nothing to do with the Padmanāyakas.²⁵ An inscription at Gārla in the Warangal district of Hyderabad state gives us the clue. It records the gift of a certain Boppa of the Rēcherla family in the fourth caste and is dated A.D. 1287. This Boppa was the son of Gaṇanātha who was son of Boppa and grandson of Bēta.²⁶ Calculating at the rate of thirty years a generation, we may place Bēta in the last quarter of the twelfth century and identify him with the Bēta, Betinayaka or Bētālanāyaka of the traditional accounts. This agrees with the view expressed at the beginning of this paragraph about the time of the rise of Padmanayakas to power.

The Capital:—Anumakonda continued to be the Kakatiya capital in the time of Rudra. The city was teeming with wealth and population and many fortifications were erected in it by the king. In A.D. 1162 he built the famous 1000 pillared temple to enshrine god Rudrēśvara. Tradition and inscriptions mention a number of other temples and edifices erected by him. When the capital became overcrowded, he improved the city of Ōrugallu and diverted the excess population into it. His Anumakonda record contains a short description of the capital. It is said that the women surpassed in beauty even the celestial nymphs; in the brahmin houses, parrots repeated the sacred lore along with the young pupils and their teachers while those in the dancing girl's quarters repeated during day time the erotic vocabulary of their mistresses, to the mortification of the foolish suitors.²⁷

This Great Andhra monarch began his rule with a fight. Through his unceasing labours, the Andhra kingdom of Anumakonda was stabilised

²⁵ Vide my History of the Recherla family

²⁶ Tel. Ins No 10 miscellaneous

²⁷ The Anumakonda inscription

and his energetic military campaigns greatly extended his dominion and the reputation of the Andhras. Art and Literature were patronized and the country was enjoying peace and prosperity. This excited the jealousy of the Yadavas of Devagiri who were constantly expecting an inroad into their own territory, from the side of this monarch. They took the offensive and invaded the Anumakonda kingdom. The inscriptions of Jaitrapāla throw much light on the relations between the Kakatiyas and the Yadavas. According to Hēmādri, Jaitrapala "performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of Rudra, Lord of the Tailingas".²⁸ In the original, the name of Rudra is spelt "Raudra" which means a son of Rudra; the quotation would then imply that Rudra's son was slain by Jaitrapāla. We know from information available up till now that Rudra had no sons but was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādēva. Hence we can conclude with the late R. G. Bhandarkar that the reading of the word is a mistake for "Rudra".²⁹ This hostility of Rudra and Jaitrapala is also supported by the Pillalamarri inscription already mentioned and shows that Rudra's last date must be very near the close of the 12th century. Since the Paithān grant tells us that another Telinga king was slain and his son captivated by Jaitugi and since this fits in with the sudden end of the short rule of Kākati MahādēvaRaja and the imprisonment of his son Ganapati, we might conclude that Rudra was slain in this war with the Yadavas and this was only the first phase of the long struggle between the Kakatiyas and the Yadavas. Thus, the reign of Kakati Rudra came to a close in A D. 1195.

Mahadeva 1195—1198 A.D.

Rudra was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādēva. No direct evidences of this reign are available. Tradition mentions that this monarch had tried to usurp the Kakatiya throne during the reign of his brother Rudra, though without success. A later inscription from Hyderabad State associates a certain Upamanyumuni with Mahādēva and this appears to support the above tradition. The only event of note during Mahādēva's reign was the invasion of the Yadavas. In the battle that ensued the Kakatiya king was slain and his son and heir-apparent, Ganapati taken prisoner.³⁰ The chronology of the reign has to be determined from the closing year of Rudra and the initial year of Ganapati.

²⁸ E.H.D. (3rd Edn.) p. 243

²⁹ Ibid ff 1 and also p. 186

³⁰ Ep. Ind. III p. 113,
J.B.B.R.A.S. XV p. 386.

1. A. XI p. 197.

CHAPTER III.

Ganapati 1198—1261 A.D.

Chronology:—Mahādēva was succeeded by his son Ganapatideva. There is an air of mystery about the commencement of the rule of this great king. We have stated above that on his father's death, he was taken prisoner by the Yadavas. An inscription from Tripurāntakam gives the date S. 1182 as the 62nd year of Ganapati's rule.³¹ It is evident therefore that the reign commenced in 1198 A.D. Still the earliest record of the monarch is dated (S. 1131) 1209 A.D. which would be the tenth regnal year. Yadava history throws some light on this discrepancy. The Paithān grant of Ramachandra mentions that Jaitugi, out of compassion, fetched Ganapati from prison and made him Lord of his country.³² This leads to the conclusion that Ganapati remained in the Yadava prison between 1198 and 1209 but was liberated and restored after that date. The reign was however reckoned from the year in which Mahādeva died.

The last regnal year of Ganapati, as accepted by scholars till now has also to be modified. An inscription from Tripurāntakam gives (S. 1182) 1260 A.D. as the latest year of this monarch.³³ But the Malkapur pillar inscription upsets the above conclusion. It registers a grant made conjointly by Ganapati and Rudramba in A.D. 1261 to teachers of the Gōḷagi school. This shows that the monarch was alive in 1261. Mr. J. Ramiah pantulu who had edited the inscription believes that these conflicting dates of 1260 and 1261 for the close of Ganapati's reign can be explained only by supposing that the monarch abdicated the throne in 1260 A.D. in favour of his daughter Rudrāmba.³⁴ But this conflict can be explained without this theory. There is, in the Hyderabad State, a record which mentions Rudramba as sovereign as early as 1258 A.D.³⁵ This overlapping of dates is due to the conjoint rule of Ganapati and Rudrāmba between 1258 and 1261 A.D. Our conclusion receives support from the fact that Rudrāmba herself was ruling the kingdom along with her grandson Pratāpa Rudra during 1290-1296 A.D.³⁶ Hence the regnal period of Ganapati must be dated between 1199 and 1261 A.D.

Conquests:—Ganapati's reign started under critical circumstances. The sudden and untimely death of his father and his consequent enslavement and absence from the Andhra country for ten years, brought great dangers for the Kakatiya kingdom. Many of the neighbouring chieftains invaded the country while those parts of the East coast conquered by

³¹ 196 of 1905 ³² Ep. Ind. III p. 113 ³³ E.R. 191 of 1905

³⁴ Vide J.A.H.R.S. IV pp. 3&4 ³⁵ Tel. Ins. No. 32 Kakatiya

³⁶ Vide my "Pratāparudra of Warangal" ch. III.

Rudra, became independent. The Pālampet inscription of Rudrasēnāni mentions that after the death of Kākati Rudra, many enemies like Nāgatibhūpāla invaded the country but were successfully repelled by the general who protected the kingdom from further dangers and handed it over to Gaṇapati on his return from Devagiri.³⁷ Another inscription from Tripurantakam dated in the reign of Rudrāmba mentions Bonpadēva a subordinate, who had also served under Gaṇapati, killed Gontūri Nāga-dēva and repelled many others.³⁸ Probably, both the above records speak of the same intruder.

Gaṇapati was a great warrior and the greatest statesman of the Kakatiya house. By prudent alliances and dashing victories, he brought the whole of the modern Andhradēśa under his rule and founded the last Pan-Andhra empire. His reign was a series of unprecedented victories. The Velnādu country attracted Gaṇapati's attention immediately after his accession, for many reasons. After the death of Gonka III. in 1186 A.D. his son Prithvisvara fled to the north of the Godavary and the Velnādu family came to an end. On the ashes of this house rose the small principalities of the Kōta, Kolani Natavādi and Chāgi chiefs who began to struggle with each other for supremacy. The Ayva family who were powerful feudatories of the late Velnādu rulers, were dominant in the Krishna Delta. North of the Godavary lay the Eastern Gaṅgas who were, at this time, involved in a deadly struggle with the Mahomadans. There was always the fear of the Gaṅgas becoming enfeebled and the Mahomadans rushing into Velnādu and consequently harassing the S. E. border of the Kakatiya territory. So both prudence and foresight impelled Gaṇapati to select Velnādu for his earliest expeditions. One group of the monarch's records in this country is dated in A. D. 1213-1214, which might be taken to mark the beginning of his Velnādu conquest.³⁹ Gaṇapati's policy is marked by two wars and three matrimonial alliances, which secured for him the complete mastery over Velnādu. He married his daughter Gaṇapāmba to Bēta of the Kōta family.⁴⁰ While at a later date Nāgama another princess was given in marriage to Keta II.⁴¹ The monarch's sister Mēlāmbika was married to Vākkadimalla Rudra, son of Buddha of the Natavādi family.⁴² Thus, the two leading powers in the Velnādu country were won over by Gaṇapati. Since the days of the later Velnādu rulers, the Kolani family rose to prominence at Kolanipura, corresponding to modern Ellore. With the aid of the Brahmin minister Sōmaya of the Indulūri family, Gaṇapati invaded

37 Hyd. Arch. Series No. 3 38 194 of 1905 39 147 of 1897 and 717 of 1921

40 Ep. Ind. III p. 94

41 261 and 262 of 1897

42 204 of 1903 Ep. Ind. IV p. 159.

Kolanipura and conquered these chieftains.⁴³ This enabled Ganapati to establish his rule on either side of the Godavari, the northern part being already conquered by his uncle Rudra. The only obstacle in his way, after this exploit, was the Ayya family. Pinachōdi Nāyaka of this house wielded great influence in the Krishna Delta. Ganapati invaded this delta and defeated Jāyapanāyaka, son of PinaChodiNāyaka. Having truly gauzed the military genius of this young fighter, Ganapati won Jāyapa by marrying his two sisters Nārama and Pērama to him and by making him commander of his elephant forces.⁴⁴ This General is popularly known as Gajasāhini Jāyapanāyaka. Thus, with little loss of men and resources, Ganapati could secure the adhesion of the whole of the East coast from modern Visagapatam in the North to the Southern border of the Guntur District in the South. These exploits may be dated between 1213 and 1225 A.D.

(To be continued.)

43 లీల గొలనిమండలీకల వెలదోలి

గొలనిభీడు దాను గొనుటజేసి

కాకతీశుడైన గణపతి యండను

గొలనిసోమ డనగ వెలసె బగతి॥

Sivayogasaramu.

"K'LINGS"—THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD.

A. S. THYAGARAJU, M.A.

The Malay Correspondent of the "Hindu Illustrated Weekly" in the issue of that paper dated July 12, 1931, writes as follows, under the caption "Diary of an Indian in Malaya (Orang Kling):—

"It may amuse people in South India to know that Tamils in Malaya are usually called *Orang Kling* by other races inhabiting this narrow stretch of land. The origin of this term is shrouded in mystery, as various explanations offered have failed to gain general acceptance, being fantastic or far-fetched. The name *Kling* has however, come to be regarded as a contemptuous term, possibly because many of the Tamils here happen to be labourers, and its use to refer to a South Indian is therefore resented by educated Tamils. As a matter of fact the feeling against this term was so strong among them a few years ago that the Municipality of Singapore was forced to change the name of *Kling* Street to Chulia Street.

"But the name *Kling* far from being a term of reproach, is one which recalls one of the most glorious periods of Indian history, says Bishop Ferguson-Davie discussing the origin of the term in a recent issue of the "Singapore Diocesan Magazine." Dr. Ferguson-Davie, who was formerly a bishop of Singapore, suggests that the name *Kling* might have had its origin in the fact that the Tamil people first came from Calingapatam in the northern part of the Madras Presidency.

"The Hindu Kingdom of Kalinga was flourishing one thousand five hundred years ago, and it is believed that the Khymer Dynasty, which ruled in Cambodia from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries came from the empire of Kalinga. The Khymer kings had Hindu names such as Krishnavarman and Rudravarman, and the remains of Hindu temples built by them at Angkor excite the admiration of European and American tourists even to this day. Anyhow there is little doubt that in the early part of the Christian era people did come from India to the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies and to Cambodia and Siam."

I think Dr. Ferguson-Davie is on the right track when he suggests that the name Kling "might have had its origin in the fact that the Tamil people first came from Calingapatam." And when he speaks of Tamils, he very probably means South Indians, for it was the inhabitants of the

Telugu part of the South Indian coast, that first colonised "Greater India."

The history of the Kalinga empire is still obscure. The boundaries of the empire are not yet definitely known. But enough research has been done in the field to establish the fact that vessels sailed across the bay to Indo-China from a point towards the north of the Coromandel coast. The name of this important port is now forgotten. But may it not be that the name of this city survives in the name given to the people of that city who traded with Indo-China. And as Dr. Ferguson-Davie suggests Calingapatam or a similarly named port must have been the point of departure for ships bound for Malay.

Any Indian sojourner in Burma will tell us that the Telugu people in that country are known as *Korangers*, and that to them the shore beyond the deep is Koringa. I shall not deduce anything further from this fact beyond the suggestion that it is a well known philological rule that "r" and "l" interchange under certain conditions, and that *Kling* and *Kalinga* and *Koringa* are related words.

M. Jouveau-Dubreil has the following statement in his "Ancient History of the Deccan", page 86:—"The Indo-Chinese civilisation did not come from every place in India, but from a part of the Deccan, where the travellers embarked for Indo-China." Which was this port and where was it situated?

Ptolemy, in describing the East coast, mentions the following towns and ports, proceeding north along the coast:—

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Mouth of the river Khoberos. | (Kaveri river) |
| | Khaberis. | (Kaveripatnam) |
| 3 | Sabouras. | |
| 4 | Padouke. | |
| 5 | Melange. | |
| 6 | Mouth of the river Tynna. | (River Pennar) |
| 7 | Kottis. | |
| 8 | Manarpha. | |
| 9 | Mouth of the river Maisolus. | (River Krishna) |
| 10 | Kontakossyla, a mart. | (Ghantasala) |
| 11 | Koddura. | (Gudur) |
| 12 | Allosygne. | |
| 13 | The point of departure of ships bound for Khryse. | |
| 14 | Paloura. | |
| 15 | Naingaina. | |
| 16 | Katikardama. | |
| 17 | Kannagara. | |
| 18 | Mouth of the river Madaira. | |

Koddura has been identified with Gudur or Peddagudur, a village four miles to the north of Masulipatam, on the Masulipatam-Bezwada road. It is M. J-Dubreuil that has, I think very rightly, identified Kontakossyla with Ghantasala, a village near Masulipatam. McCrindle who edited "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy" identifies Allosygne with Coringa, but why he does it is not known.

M. J-Dubreuil concludes with the following observation:—

"The place (the point of departure) is found near Koddura a little more to the north on the coast (i.e.) not far from the mouth of the Godavary ... We shall therefore conclude that the port of departure for vessels bound for Khryse (the country of Gold (i.e.) Malay) during the time of Ptolemy (circa A. D. 150) was situated near the mouth of the Godavary and that it was from there, that the civilisation of India, started to go over to Burma, Java, Cambodia and Annam.

A map of the East Godavary district will show us that the village of Coringa, situated about ten miles south of Cocanada might have been the port in question. Until very recently Coringa or Kōrangī, as it is known in the vernacular, was a very important port and ship-building centre on this coast. Even as late as the seventeenth century Cocanada was a little known sand heap. The village known as old Coringa is now several miles from the sea, owing to the silting up of the channel that leads to it. The present village of Coringa was "built" by Mr. Westcot in 1759 on the east of the river. Pliny mentions the name as the name of a cape. But due to the silting up of the sea, Coringa lost its importance as a sea-port and Cocanada began to take its place.

Four miles to the north, and about six miles to the south of Cocanada, is a little fishing hamlet called Chollangi. It is on the coast and is at the mouth of one of the seven holy branches of the Godavary river. It is the first place visited by those making a pilgrimage to the seven holy mouths. It is supposed to have been brought down by the Sage Tulyā, and is therefore called Tulyā-sāgara-sangam. There is a great festival celebrated here annually on the new moon day in February.

Cunningham in the "Ancient Geography of India", pp 592, says "The Calingae are mentioned by Pliny...To the south, the territory of the Calingae extended as far as the promontory of Calington and the town of Dandaguda or Dandagula, which is said to be 635 Roman miles or 574 British miles, from the mouth of the Ganges. Both the distance and the name point to the great port-town of Coringa, as the promontory of Corington, which is situated on a projecting point of land, at the mouth of the Godavary river."

The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited India during A. D. 630-645. He mentions that the capital of the Kalinga kingdom was

Kie-ling-kia, which was situated from 1400 to 1500 li or from 233 to 250 miles to the south-west of Ganjam. Cunningham says "both bearing and distance point either to Rajamahendri on the Godavary river or to Koringa on the sea coast, the first being 250 miles to the south west of Ganjam and the other 246 miles in the same direction." In a recent number of "The Andhra Historical Research Society Journal", the capital is identified as either Chollangi near Cocanada or Dowleishwaram near Rajahmundry.

May it not be that about the time of Ptolemy, i.e., in the second century A.D. the port of Coringa was the point of departure for ships bound to the Straits. McCrindle's identification of Allosygne with Coringa suggests that the point of departure which was further north must have been somewhere in the region around Chollangi. What is more natural than that the strangers from abroad should be called *Korungees* or *Kalingas* or *K'lings* after the port from which they had come. Who knows but that the mighty ocean has, buried in its depths, the ruined palaces and castles—the civilisation that stood for the best that was Andhra. Well may the Andhra be proud that his country once played such an important role in the history of nations—that Andhra was the mistress of the seas, even as Great Britain was destined to be in a later day.

DRAVIDIC WORD-STUDIES.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIVAR, M A , B L.

1. *Dravidic 'Fish', 'Star', and 'Sky'*

[A] *General.*

On page 947 of his Malayalam Dictionary, Gundert suggests that Tamil: *vin*, Malayalam: *viṇṇu* and Telugu: *minnu* (all of which mean 'sky'), should be considered rather as *tadbhavas* of Sanskrit *viṣṇu* than as native Dravidian forms. In connection with this suggestion made by Gundert, Bishop Caldwell offered the following observations in his 'Comparative Grammar'. — "The name *ṛṣṇu* becomes, sometimes both in poetical Tamil and in Malayalam, *viṇṇu*. This name also appears in poetical Tamil as *viṇṇu*, a word which denotes the 'wind' as well as *viṣṇu*. Dr. Gundert identifies the *vin* of *viṇṇu* ('Vishnu') with the Tamil-Malayalam word *vin* (sky), a true Tamil word connected with the base *vi* (to be bright). The derivation of *viṣṇu* from *vṛ* and *vin* looks very tempting, but I fear Sanskrit lexicographers will refuse to yield to the temptation".

Gundert's suggestion regarding *viṇṇu*, *vin* corresponded to the view current among scholars of those times, that whenever a parallelism in structure and meaning between a Dravidian form and a Sanskrit word was observed, the latter should be considered to be original and the former a borrowing. Of course Gundert himself had pointed out¹ that in a number of such parallelisms the conventional view would have to be revised, but in this particular instance he preferred to agree with the conventional opinion and to consider the Dravidian forms as *tadbhavas*.

Certain scholars have veered round right to the other extreme and made what appears still as an unprovable suggestion that Sanskrit *viṣṇu* (both the term and the ideal) is probably derivable from Dravidian *vin* (sky). The present condition of our knowledge of early Aryo-Dravidian relations hardly furnishes any proof for this startling view which would ascribe the *origin* of the Vedic solar god to a Dravidian conception associated with *vin* (sky). While Indo-āryanists have refused to subscribe

1 *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (1872)

to this extreme theory, some among them have recently² put forward the suggestion that the Dravidian conception associated with *vin* may have influenced, in some degree or other, the transformation of the Vedic sun-god into the Vishnu of later times as the centre of a popular faith and devotional cult. It should be observed that no *positive* evidence is available for this. It is yet a circumstantial possibility which receives some support from the general view that a few of the cosmic notions of what we now know as Hinduism are traceable to Dravidian and that certain gods of the Hindu pantheon may be Dravidian in origin. Professor S.K. Chatterji suggests that "the Aryan *viṣṇu* seems to have been identified with a Dravidian sky-God (Dravidian *vin* 'sky')", and "that the Aryan *viṣṇu* 'the spreading one' as a name for the Sun, was combined with a Dravidian sky-god *vin*, *vinnu* to give the later Hindu notions of *Sūrya-nā-āyana*".

The view here expressed seems to be, not indeed that the Sanskrit term *viṣṇu*³ was a borrowing from Dravidian *vinnu* but that the Dravidian idea of a sky-god has been amalgamated with the original Aryan idea. The curious parallelism in structure between native Indo-Aryan *viṣṇu* (the spreading one) and Dravidian *vin* is not thought to be explained here, but recognition has been given to the fact that the Dravidian idea (and probably therefore the Dravidian term denoting the idea) is original in Dravidian.

The question of the native character of Dravidian *vin* cannot, however, be said to have been satisfactorily or conclusively solved yet. This question has to be approached from various standpoints, not the least important among which would be to try to find out, through a discussion of the etymological affinities of Dravidian *vin* to other Dravidian bases, whether *vin*, etc., may be considered to be probably native in Dravidian. If we find that *vin* is related basically to a number of other ancient elementary forms or bases of Dravidian, the probability that it is native in Dravidian would definitely arise.

I propose in this paper to consider this aspect of the question by confronting *vin*, *vinnu*, structurally and semantically with other forms.

2 Vide Prof. S. K. Chatterji's *Origin and development of the Bengali Language*, vol. I, page 41; also Prof. Chatterji's paper on the "Foundations of Hindu culture" contributed to the *ijdschrift van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. LXVIII, page 82.

3 The late Mr. P. T. Srinivāsa Aiyangar's opinion (Vide *Age of the Mantras*, page 126) that the Sanskrit word itself was an adaptation from Dravidian *vin* (sky) is incapable of being proved. It has to be admitted that the etymology of Sanskrit *viṣṇu* has not been satisfactorily explained on an Indo-Aryan basis (cf. note in *IHQ*, vol VII, page 103); but, as matters stand, no Indo-Aryanist would approve of Mr. Aiyangar's opinion.

Preliminarily, the following facts about *vin*, *vinnu* may be noted here:—

1. *Vin* and *vinnu* with the meaning 'sky' or 'heaven' occur in Tamil-Malayālam, while Telugu has *minnu* with the same meanings. No other dialect possesses these forms, either in the south or in the north with the meaning 'sky'.

2. *Vin* has the additional meaning, 'cloud' also in Tamil, but this appears to be secondarily derived through the process of irradiation from the original meaning 'sky'.

3. The Sanskrit term *viṣṇu* has given rise to the following *tadbhavas* with the meaning 'Vishnu' in Tamil-Malayālam.

Tamil *Viṭṭunu*; *Vinḍu*; Mal. *Vinnu* meaning 'Vishnu', 'cloud', 'wind'

The last-mentioned *vinnu* with the meaning 'Vishnu' as in Malayālam *vinnu-krānti* (*Evolvulus alsinoides*), etc., will have to be distinguished from *vinnu* with the meaning 'sky', as will be seen from the following discussion. The Tamil-Malayālam *tadbhava vinnu* may be directly connected with prakrit *vinhu* (Vishnu).

4. Finally we may also note here that *vin* itself never possesses the meaning 'Vishnu' in Malayālam or Tamil.

I now proceed to discuss the Dravidian forms in the different Dravidian dialects for 'sky', 'fish' and 'star'. I suggest that some among these forms may, on the basis of Dravidian rules of phonetic and semantic change, be inter-connected, and this suggestion is sought to be inquired into in this essay by a comparative analysis of these forms.

[B] Dravidic 'Sky'

Native Dravidian words for 'sky' can be classified thus:—

- a. Tamil *vin*. Malayālam *vin (nu)*. Telugu *minnu*.
- b. Tamil *vān m* (sky, rain, cloud), *mān m* (sky)
cf. Telugu *vāna* (rain, cloud), and Kannaḍa *bāna*, *bāna*
Toda *pānam* Baḍaga *bāna* Tulu *bāna*.
- c. Tamil *mī* Tulu *mugaḷ*.
- d. Other words which do not fall in any of the above groups:—

Tamil <i>vel</i>	Kannaḍa <i>elavattē</i>
„ <i>kō</i>	„ <i>arilvattē</i>
„ <i>Viṣṇu'u</i>	„ <i>mānvattē</i>
	„ <i>saggigabattē</i>

Groups (b), (c) and (d).

These, not being connected structurally with Group (a), may be dealt with first.

1. Group b. is widespread in the South-Kannaḍa. Tulu and Baḍaga initial b- and Tōda p- for v- of Tamil are normal.

It is not clear if mediafly *ɳ* or *n* is the original. The cerebral sound appears in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu only. Gundert's suggestion that *vān(am)*⁴ is connected with Tamil *vāl*, *vān* (bright) would imply that the alveolar *n* of the forms of Tamil, Telugu and Malayāḷam may be original but of this one cannot be sure.

If semantically the meaning 'sky' is original, as it appears to be if we consider the analogy of Tamil *vin* which, besides signifying 'sky', has come to mean also 'rain' and 'cloud', the secondary meanings may be said to have submerged the primary signification in the Telugu form.

2. This group is undoubtedly native. *mi*, *mu* are elementary bases signifying 'above', and Tuḷu *mūgoḷ* based on *mu*, actually means 'top', 'above' in Malayāḷam.

3. Old Tamil *voḷi* signifying 'sky' has the more general meaning 'outside' which is the only meaning shown by the modern dialect. Though it is possible that 'sky' may have been a semantic development from 'outside', a more plausible view would be to consider that *voḷi* (sky) is founded upon the base *voḷ* (to be bright, to shine) just as the other meaning 'outside' may be independently founded on the same base.

4. Tamil *kō* is a word with numerous meanings in Tamil, a common idea implied in all these being 'greatness'. The word as such is found only in old Tamil and it has no direct cognates in any of the other dialects of Dravidian. This fact would seem to suggest that the word may not have been native; but it is difficult to determine this point in view of the difficulties of data and chronology.

5. *viśvambu* (sky) is also unique in Tamil. Old Indo-āryan *viśat* (sky) may be compared with this Tamil form. This appears to be a nearer Sanskrit form than Pope's old suggestion *viṣ*.

The Tamil form is unique and it may be an adaptation from Indo-āryan.

6. The Kannaḍa combinations with *bitt* (which is an adaptation of Indo-āryan *vṛt* 'path') are only picturesque descriptions of the sky. *elar* (leaf), *aril* (star), *mīn* (star) are native words, while *siṅgiṅga* is an adaptation (through MIA?) of OIA *śmārgiṅga* (heavenly ones, deities).

The appearance of *v* instead of *b* in the first three combinations where the first component ends in a consonant, as contrasted with the fourth compound where the second component is the *b* form following the final vowel of the first component, is characteristic of Kannaḍa.

Group (a): Tamil *vin*, etc.

Malayāḷam, Telugu (and probably Kurukh for which, see below) alone show directly inter-allied forms meaning 'sky'.

⁴ *Vān* meaning 'greatness' in Tamil is apparently a derivative of *vān*, *val* (great). One cannot say if the idea of 'sky' is connected with this.

The relationship of the Tamil-Malayālam *vin'(nu)* to Telugu *minnu* would be clear when we note that the retroflex *n* of Tamil often appears as *-n-* in Telugu (cf. Tamil *kan'(nu)*, Telugu *kannu*, etc.) and further that an initial *v-* in some of the Dravidian tongues has changed to *m-* under the influence of an already existing nasal in the word: cf.

Tamil *vānam* (sky) with Tam. *mānam*
 „ *vinai* (work) „ Mal. *mina*
 „ *viḷuṅgu* (to swallow) „ Tam. *muḷuṅgu*
 Tel. *vinuḥsu* (to hear) „ Kurukh *men* (to hear)

The fact that only Tamil, Malayālam and Telugu alone show these forms need not necessarily point to the foreign origin of these words.

Definite proof that the word is native in Dravidian has to be sought through an inquiry as to whether these forms are allied to Dravidic bases which we know to be of undoubted Dravidian origin. There are two suggestive aspects which we might point out here as furnishing a clue:

a. Telugu *minnu* (sky) is structurally the same as the Dravidian base *min* (to shine, to glitter) with which we shall concern ourselves later on in the course of this essay. If these two words are really allied as well they might be, the semasiological relationship would point to the idea of 'sky' having developed from that of 'shining' or, 'glittering'.

b. This fact would lead to the query whether Tamil-Malayālam *vin(nu)* also may not be similarly connected with a word signifying 'to shine', 'to glitter'. The word *il-aṅgu* of Tamil-Malayālam which (as we shall see later on) possesses cognates in every other dialect of Dravidian may conceivably be postulated as containing the base which has given rise to Tamil-Malayālam *vin'(nu)*, and structurally, there is little difficulty in connecting *viḷ* with *viṇ'(nu)* in as much as *l* interchanges with *n* in several Dravidian words. *e. g.*

Tamil *koḷ* (to take on), Tulu *kon*, Tel. *konu*;
 Kann. *maḷaḷ* (sand), Tamil *maḷaḷ*,
 common Dravidian base *uḷ* (inside, to remain [inside]), *un* (to take food in)
 Tamil *vēḷ* (to desire), Tamil *vēu* (to desire); etc. .

These prospectives would suggest that Tamil-Malayālam *vin'(nu)* (sky) is native; and our discussion of the following words would also tend to clarify (and to a certain extent) confirm our view.

[C] *Dravidic 'Fish' and 'Star'.*'FISH'⁵*mīn*

[Tamil
 Malayālam
 Telugu
 Tulu
 Kannaḍa
 Tōḍa
 Baḍaga
 Kūi
 Kūvi
 Gōṇḍi]

'STAR'⁶

Tamil *mīn, sukka-ai*
 Malayālam *mīn*
 Kannaḍa *mīn, cikka*
 Telugu *mīn*
 Tulu *boḷḷi*
 Kūi *sukka*
 Kūvi *hukka*
 Gōṇḍi *sukkuṁ; mīn-kō*
 Kurukh *bin-kō*
 Malto *biṇḍke*

cf. Kurukh *m n̄j* (eel-like water animal)

A common form for 'fish' in Dravidian is *mīn*. Is this word native? Kittel and Caldwell had observed the remarkable correspondence between this Dravidian word and Sanskrit *mīna* (fish). Both of them suggested that the Sanskrit word may be a borrowing from Dravidian (vide Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, page 573, and Kittel's Kannaḍa Dictionary, page xxi). Caldwell's discussion of this word is quite thorough except for the fact that he has not pointed out that Sanskrit *mīna* has no cognates in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian. This latter point apparently has been considered subsequently by some scholars, and the view that Sanskrit *mīna* may have been a borrowing from Dravidian has found favour with scholars like Prof. Jarl Charpentier (vide *Le Moule Orientalni* Vol. 18, page 19).

Caldwell and Gundert have suggested that the basic form from which *mīn* has been derived is Dravidian *min* which means 'to shine'.

5 Of the other forms for 'fish', Tamil *sel* and Telugu *cepa* appear to be connected. The Tamil Lexicon suggests connection between *sel* and the verb *sel*—

Tamil *kayal* (a kind of fish) is probably related to Tamil *kayam* (pond, and *pulal* (a variety of fish) may be connected with *pulai* (river, flowing stream).

6 The remarkable correspondence shown by a set of Austronesian forms signifying 'star' may be pointed out here

Cf. *bintang* (star) in a number of the dialects of Malaya. In certain other dialects we have *bito'n*, *bitong*, etc., where the basal portion shows only *t* instead of *nt*. (Vide Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde hinter Indiens", page 223 where Kuhn himself points out "Merkwürdig ist das Zusammentreffen mit den *biṇḍike* der Malto-Sprache in Vorderindien"). This correspondence is not an isolated one, restricted to these words; as I have pointed out elsewhere a very large number of forms with significations connected with 'heat', 'light', 'fire', etc., in 'Austrian' 'Australian' Sumerian and Dravidian appear to resemble one another and this question (I think) does deserve to be studied further. It has however, to be noted that the Dravidian forms themselves are allied to one another in most cases according to characteristic principles of Dravidic change,

'to sparkle', 'to glitter'. Kittel alone hesitatingly offers the alternative suggestion that it may be derivable from *mī* (to float, etc.). This alternative suggestion is unconvincing.

b. So far as words for 'star' are concerned, they may be classified on the basis of their structural resemblances:—

a.	b,	c.
<i>mīn</i>		
[Tamil	Telugu	<i>tsukka</i>
Malayālam	Tamil	<i>sukkai</i>
Kannāḍa	Kūi	<i>sukka</i>
Telugu	Kūvi	<i>hukka</i>
Tōḍa	Gōṇḍi	<i>sukkum</i>
Ḥaḍaga	Kannāḍa	<i>cikka, cukke</i>
Kūi	Korvi	<i>cukkyang</i>
Kūvi	Kaikaḍi	<i>cukkyā</i>
Gōṇḍi]		

a. Kittel explains the meaning 'star' for *mīn* as being metaphorically derived from the other meaning which *mīn* has in Dravidian, viz., 'fish'. According to him, the 'star' may have been considered as the 'fish of the sky-ocean'. This is not sufficiently appealing. How could the 'star' have been likened to the 'fish'? It would be more proper, in my opinion, to derive the meaning 'star' directly from the basic meaning 'to shine' and this suggestion appears to be supported by the fact that the *Kurukh* and the *Malto* forms show an initial *b* directly related to the base *biḷ*, *viḷ*, which have the meaning 'to shine'.

A semasiological analogy is available in group c. The shine and the glitter of stars is a sufficiently prominent characteristic of these heavenly bodies to have led the ancient Dravidians to describe them with a term formed from the base which signified 'to be bright'.

Group (b).

Tamil	<i>sukkai</i> ⁷	Kackādi	<i>cukkyā</i>
Telugu	<i>tsukka</i>	Kannāḍa	<i>cikke, cukke</i>
Kūi	<i>sukku-nga</i> 'stars'	Kūvi	<i>hukka</i>
Korvi	<i>cukkyang</i>	Gōṇḍi	<i>sukkum</i>

There exists a base *suk*⁸ (<*sud-k*.) in all these words. If *suk* is from *sud-k* (cf. Tamil *nōkk* (to see) and Kannāḍa *nōḍ*; Tamil *paḍukkui*

7 The Tamil Lexicon interrogates if Sanskrit *ulka* (star) may have anything to do with the Tamil word. This is scarcely possible. Compare for the basic constituent of the Tamil word the following native forms of Tamil Kannāḍa Telugu etc: *su-du su-du* (to burn) etc.

8 Kannāḍa *cukke*, Telugu *tsukka* signify also 'spot' 'dot' 'beauty-mark'. In view of the widespread nature of the meaning 'star' for these forms I consider this meaning ('star') to be original and the other meaning ('beauty-spot') as secondary.

'bed' and Kannaḍa *pakk-i*, *hakk-i*), the meaning would be 'burner' (*sud*, 'to burn') 'star'. The sub-dialectal interchange of *s* and *h* in Kūi and Kūvi is normal. The Kūi form *sukka nga*, usually used in the plural, contains the plural ending *nga*.

c. The three forms of this group (c) appear to be related. Tuḷu *bolli* (with its characteristic *o* resulting from the influence of the initial bilabial) is derived from the Dravidic base *viḷ*, *veḷ* (to shine); the Kurukh and the Malto words [the cerebral is retained in the latter, while the former shows an alveolar for which compare *kaḷḷ* with South Dravidian *kaḷḷu*] also appear to be derivatives from the same base with the change of *l* to *n* or *ṇ*.

This discussion then illustrates the following points:—

1. The idea of 'shining', 'glittering' underlies these Dravidian forms for 'fish' and 'star'.

2. One set of forms [group c. above] can be directly traced to the base *viḷ*, *veḷ* with the meaning 'to shine'.

3. And since in connection with this group we find *viḷ*, *veḷ* having developed to *bin* in Kurukh and *biṇḍ* in Malto, it would appear as if the word *min* (on which *min* 'fish' and *mīn* 'star' are based as we have seen above) might also have been derived from *viḷ*, *veḷ* (to shine), especially as we know that *v* in initial positions may change to *m* (*vide* analogies given above). Group c. suggests semasiological analogy where the idea of 'shining' 'glittering' has directly given rise to the conception of 'star'. This question, however, of the change of *viḷ*, *veḷ* (to shine) to *min* (to shine) cannot be said to be unequivocally provable in view of certain limitations mentioned below.

Limitations of the postulate regarding viḷ, veḷ > min, mīn.

We may observe that the postulate of the change of *viḷ*, *veḷ* to *min* *mīn*, plausible enough so far as it goes, requires to be confirmed in two ways before we can regard it as having been established beyond a doubt:

1. The circumstances in which the various changes involved in the above scheme have to be determined and clarified with reference to their chronology. Dealing as we do with a fairly ancient course of change—and that in a family like Dravidian where even the meagre linguistic data available for the southern dialects do not take us beyond a certain anterior limit and where the chronology relating to the lesser dialects is wrapped up in what looks like impenetrable obscurity,—it is doubtful if ever the circumstances of a change like this could be precisely ascertained.

2. The specific question of the relationship of *all allied* words in Dravidian for 'to shine', to *viḷ*, *veḷ* has to be rigorously investigated. Here again, as we shall see presently, unequivocal proof is not available in as much as the precise relationship of the medial sounds of some of the groups to those of others could not be established.

(To be continued.)

NEW LIGHT ON TIPPU-SULTAN.

A. SUBBARAYA CHETTY, B.A. (HONS.)

Tippu is one of those unfortunate Indian rulers who became victims to the prejudiced accounts of the Western writers and their Indian echoists. He is unjustly pictured as one of the most detestable figures in Indian History and described as a religious fanatic and a cruel oppressor of the Hindus. But my recent visit to the ruins of Seringapatam, Tippu's Capital and my critical study of various accounts treating of him, combined with careful enquiry into popular stories told about him, have made me so convinced, that I could not resist demonstrating to the world, that Tippu is in reality no religious fanatic, but a broad-minded benevolent ruler, animated with highly noble ideals of religious toleration and national unity.

First, I describe my visit to the ruins of Seringapatam. As a Hindu, I was first impelled to go to the temple of Sriranganātha. There, I found the idol, tower and compound wall, all in good condition. I heard also the people telling that the temple was ever immune from the dastardly attacks of the Muslims. A moment's reflection upon this sight and this popular hearsay led me, all of a sudden, to the conclusion that Tippu would never have been a religious fanatic and much less, an oppressor of Hindus for it is quite inconsistent with a Muslim fanatic ruler to allow undemolished, a Hindu Temple in the very capital of his. Then, it was his beautiful palace named "Daria Dowlatabagh" that attracted my attention. The walls of that palatial building were so profusely and pompously decorated with delightful ivory paintings that my attention was focused upon them for long. After a while I found, amongst those paintings, a few pictures of combined armies of Hindus and Muslims, fighting with the English, a common National foe. This confirmed the new conclusion I was led to of Tippu at the temple and my belief was so great that he was no more a short-sighted religious fanatic, but a high-souled nationalist. Then, I went to the brick-made and curved spring-bridge built by a skilful French Engineer, as a model for the huge bridge conceived to be constructed over the river Cauvery. It seemed to me to be an eloquent testimony to his noble ideas of striving hard for the welfare of his subjects, one and all. Indeed, it was an integral characteristic of a Sovereign, imbued with the progressive ideas. Then I recalled to my mind, what I saw at Parnapalle, a village in my native district of Cuddapah, where Tippu is said to have constructed extensive buildings, nearby the village,

for the use of the merchants, with the intention of establishing a market there, to which fact reference is also made in Cuddapah District Gazetteer.

After returning to my native place from this excursion, I had laboured hard for comparing my new conclusion with historical and literary evidences, besides popular stories. Tippu is said to have presented a big drum to the temple of Sree Narasimhaswāmi of Nelakota, a Hindu sacred place in his own kingdom, in spite of remonstrances from a fanatical muslim friend in his court, named Ghazikhan. We also learn that Tippu spent great sums of money for re-establishing the idol of Saraswati at Sringeri when the original idol was uprooted by Maharatta invaders about 1790. We learn also that Tippu had a staunch belief in the efficacy of Hindu rites like *Japams*, when he implored one Gopala Joshi to tell the Guru of Sringeri to perform *Sathuchendi Japam* and the like for the destruction of the foes of the Mysore State. We cannot but be filled with wonder when we notice from the dialogue, the stout refusal given by Tippu to the malicious persuasions of Ghazi Khan, to molest the Hindus, as a duty of a Muslim Ruler. Further, his reply to Ghazi Khan saying that as ruler of a State, he ought to award the same equanimous treatment to one and all of his subjects, whether Hindus or Muslims, is really more surprising.

Now, it is necessary to support this conclusion of mine, with the evidence of history. The fact that Purnayya, the famous first Dewan of the present Mysore State was Tippu's finance minister is, no doubt, a monumental evidence to his Pan-Indian Policy of rallying to his standard every element of the Indian Nationality, especially the Hindus—indeed a characteristic incompatible with the policy of any Muslim fanatic. When E. W. Thompson stated that he had recourse to omens and Brahman astrologers, when the breach made by the English was ready for assault, we can feel, that we are right, in the light of the historical evidence, in our conclusion that he was a staunch believer in the efficacy of Hindu rites. Further, the fact that he was called Citizen Tippu by the French settlers of his State, imbued with the Republican spirit then existing in their own motherland, strikes the note of democratic feeling on the part of Tippu.—a feeling that can never be expectant of any despotic ruler. Citizen Tippu is a term generally addressed to popular heroes, exerting their best for the rights and uplift of the citizens as against the attempts of the tyrants to assert autocratic rule.

Taking thus stock of all the historical and other similarly reliable evidences, we cannot resist, courageously asserting this theory of ours. We can undoubtedly say that he followed the footsteps of the Great Akbar and pursued the Pan-Indian Policy of bringing about national unity. But his motive was barely political, whereas his great fore-runner's, was tinged with greater religious motive also.

THE PATTESWARA INSCRIPTION.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB M.R.A.S.

Veerabhānu was one of the illustrious kings of the Gaṅga dynasty who ruled over Utkala. He ruled from Śaka 1275 to 1300, i.e., from A.D. 1353 to 1378. The inscription in Patteswara temple is dated 4477th year of the Kaliyuga and that is the 29th Anka or regnal year of the king. That year corresponds to Śāka year 1298 or the Christian year 1375. The Anka year begins with every 12th day in the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada. The new Anka year day is also called "Sunnia day" which is peculiar to Utkala. On that particular day, gold coins are issued in commemoration of the beginning of the new year, after inscribing the number of the Anka year of the then king. It is also called "Sunnia day" because Sunnia, i.e., gold coins are issued on that day.

Kāmārṇava and his four brothers were great devotees of God Gokarṇeswara of the Mahendragiri, when they came to Kalinga. The temple of this God is on the peak of Mt. Mahendra. At the foot of the mountain, there is Tarakēswara; four miles south of it lies Uttarēswara. Two miles further south, there is Mandasa and three miles to the north east of Mandasa there is Pattēswara. Near Baruva, to the south of Pattēswara, there is another temple of Kotēswara which is four miles in distance. Of these temples, Veerabhānudeva perhaps got the temple of Patteswar repaired and this is the only one which exists even now. The others have been ruined. So, it can be understood that these temples were built long before Veerabhānudeva. In the *Vāṭyamandira* of this temple, we have this inscription written in ancient Oriya characters and ancient Oriya language. From a perusal of it, one can have an idea of the condition of Oriya literature of that period. There are certain mistakes in the inscription. Perhaps the inscriber is ignorant of the language. It seems that the writer observed shortage in script at certain places which are detailed below.

The script is in 9 lines, of which 5 lines are clear. The 7th and 8th lines are invisible and in the 6th and 9th lines, some letters cannot be deciphered.

The Text of the Inscription :—

- 1 श्री श्री कलियुगगते ४४८८
 2 श्री वीर भाणु¹दे व ॥ ॐ २९ आही
 3 मक* सुह²१४ भा³ वारे दन्तगडस्थ
 4 रा उन्नामभाग १८ एपुल्ल
 5 पौत्रक्रमे देवदेमा २ वैष्णव
 6 पट्ट ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ माटण
 7 ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦
 8 ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦
 9 ♦ ♦ मदेव [1] र श्री ॥

Translation of the Inscription :—

In the 4477th Kaliyuga year (śaka 1298 or A.D. 1376), during the reign of Veerabhānudeva, he offered a portion of the village of Rauta which is in the area of Dantagodo to God Pattēswara and appointed priests for His service in the 29th regnal or Anka year, in the month of *makara* on Sunday, the 14th day of full moon.

There is still the village of Rauta existing to the south-west of the temple of Pattēswara. From this it is clear that Dantapura or Dantagodo was situated very near to Pattēswara temple. The present Mandasa might be the place where the tooth of Budha was kept in a *manjusha* or precious box. So, this place was called Manjusha. This Manjusha might have become corrupt as it is now called by the name of Mandasa.

1	भाणु	Read	भानु		लिपिसङ्कोच
2	सुह	„	शुह	ॐ	Read
3	भा	„	भा	*मक	ॐ
				†भा	„
				वैष्णव	„
					मकर
					भानु
					वैष्णव

A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF UMAVARMA.¹

SRI SRI SRI GOPINATH HARICHANDAN JAGADEB M.R.A.S.

I secured this copper-plate grant of King Umavarma from one Dabbiru Panchanadham Patnaik, a karnam by caste, residing at Tekkali and read the inscription. The Grant contains three plates bound by a copper ring. The length of the plates is $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", whereas the breadth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The diametre of the copper ring is $9\frac{3}{4}$ ". The weight of the three plates along with the ring is 70 tolas. On the Royal Seal that is attached to the copper-ring, it is written "Pitr̥bhaktah". The script on the copper plates is Brahmi i.e. old Tel-Kannaḍa and the language is Sanskrit. It has been engraved from the second side of the first plate, till half of the second side of the third plate, at the rate of 4 lines on each side, except on the second side of the third plate where only two lines are engraved. In all, the Inscription contains 18 lines.

Umavarma, probably king of Kalinga, granted to one Vyāsaśarma of Kāsyapagotra, a village called Astihavara on the 7th day of the new moon in the month of māgha in the 9th year of his reign.

TEXT 2

First plate. Second side.

- 1 Svasti Vijaya Varddhamān purāt pitṛ pādānuddhyātah Srī Mahārājō
- 2 ma varmā Astihavaragrāme sarva samavētānkutumbina sa
- 3 mājñāpayatyastu vō viditam asmākaṁ svapunyāyuryaśō
- 4 bhivṛddhayē ācandra tārakārka pratistham agrahārāṁ kṛtvā a

Second plate. First side.

- 5 Kagrāma sarva karapariharaiḥ parihṛtya
- 6 Vyāsa śarmmaṇo kāsyapaḥōtrāya sampprattah tadēvam viditvā
- 7 yuṣmābhīḥ pūrvvōcita maryyādayōpasthānāṁkartavyamitya
- 8 mēya hiraṇyadyancōpanēyam iti bhaviṣyadrājñāśca vijñāpa

1 A Grant of the same king probably, called the *Brihatproshtha Grant of Umavarma* was published by Dr. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind. vol. XII pp. 1-6. The alphabet, language and phraseology resemble closely to each other and to those of Komarti Plates of Chandavarma. The Vyasa slokas are also the same. Editor.

2 From the impressions of the original plates. The text as prepared by the writer of the article having contained several mistakes was revised by Mr. C. Atmaram B.A. B.L. while the article proper was revised and translation added by the Editor.

Second plate, Second side.

9 yāmi dharmmakramavikramābhyōnyattama tvapōpanata tavya
 10 mājñānu prasavaṣca apicātra Vyāsagītā ślōkānudā
 11 haranti || Bahubhirvvasudhādattā vasudhā vasudhādhīpaih
 12 yasya yasya yadābhūmistasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || Śaṣṭi varṣa sa

Third plate, First side.

13 hasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidah ākṣēptācānumantāca tānyēva
 14 narakē vasēt || Svadattaṁ paradattaṁvā yatnādrakṣa yudhi
 15 ṣṭhira mahīm mahīmataṁ śrēṣṭha dānācchrēyōnupālanaṁ || māghasya kṛ
 16 ṣṇa divasē saptami saṁvatsara navami svaya majñā

Third plate, Second side.

17 ājñē svahasta paṭhitaṁ śāsanam pāpanāśanam
 18 Piṣṭhapura vāstavyēna kēśavadēvēna likhitaṁ.

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-6) Hail! From the victorious Vardhamānapura, the glorious *Mahārāja* Umavarma who is devoted to the feet of his father commands the ryots and all others in the village of Astihavara assembled. Let it be known:—

“This village has been given by us for the increase of the merit, life and prosperity of ourselves, to the Brahmin Vyāsaśarma of Kāsyapagotra, having been made into an *agrahāra* which is to last as long as the moon stars and sun and having been exempted from all taxes.

(Ll. 6-8) Knowing this, you ought to observe the previous customs and supply him with Gold etc.

(Ll. 8-10) About future kings, the king requests:—

“Having obtained earth by right or inheritance or conquest or other means and ruling it, you should preserve this *agrahāra* as the grant has religious merit.”

(Ll. 10-15) Then, the three usual Vyāsa *ślokas* follow.

(Ll. 15-16) The order was made in the month of Māgha, in Krishna paksha, on Saptami day and in the ninth year of king's rule.

(L. 17) Whoever recites the grant has his sin destroyed.

(L. 18) The Edict was written by Kēśavadēva. an inhabitant of Pishtapura (Modern Pittāpuram in East Godavary District).

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 80.)

K. VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A., B.L., B.Ed.

IV. Education in the Buddhist Period.

To understand the system of education in this period, it is necessary to know something of the difference between the religious practices of Buddhism and those of Hinduism. The Buddhists rejected the revealed authority of the Vedas and the artificial distinctions prevalent in the caste system. The Buddhist system of education was, therefore, bound to affect the traditional system of the Brahmans considerably. The characteristic feature of the former system was that it made the 'viharas' or monasteries, where the Bhikkus or monks lived, the centres of learning. As Buddhism did not recognize any distinction based upon caste, all persons were given opportunities of learning in those institutions. And teachers who belonged to castes other than the Brahmans were not uncommon. For a person to receive education in their institutions, he could either become a member of the 'Samgha' or community of the Buddhist monks or retain his old religion. But for admission into the 'Samgha', one should be free from disease, should not be a slave, nor be a debtor, nor a servant of the king. The person who wished to be ordained as a priest should first cut off his hair and beard, put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkus with his head, sit down squatting, and raising his joined hands say "I take my refuge in the Buddha. I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Sangha". (Quoted from Keay's Ancient Indian Education, p. 89.)

There was much in common between the Hindu and the Buddhist methods of instruction and of the modes of entrance into the schools of learning. And it may be conjectured that the Buddhists borrowed much from their Brahman rivals. Like the Brahmacharis, the Buddhist monks begged for their food and were bound to live a life of strict discipline. Each novice who entered the order had to select for his preceptor a Bhikkhu. The preceptor known as 'Upajjhaya' had to treat his pupil as his own son. Mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life were enjoined as tending to the progress of both. The novice, if he wished to select a preceptor was to salute the latter's feet, raise his joined hands, and say "Venerable Sir; be my Upajjhaya". The last portion of this statement had to be repeated three times, and if the preceptor indicated by gesture or otherwise that he accepted him as his pupil, he became his pupil, forthwith. Strict regulations were enjoined on the pupil with regard to his relations with his preceptor. He should serve him anticipating his wants and strive his best to be of help to him. The preceptor on his part was bound to render spiritual help to his pupil by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, and by instruction. Further, the teacher had to nurse his pupil in times of sickness. He was also to instruct him how best to wash his robe, to make it, and to dye it. I-Tsing, the Chinese pilgrim thus describes the system of education prevalent in his time. "The following is also the manner in which the pupil awaits on his teacher in India. He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch of the night.

Selecting some passages from the Tripitaka, the teacher gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct and warns him of defects and transgression. Whenever he finds his pupil faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent. The pupil rules the teacher's body, folds his cloths or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. Then, having examined the water to see whether there are any insects in it, he gives it to the teacher. Thus, if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to his superior. On the other hand, in the care of a pupil's illness, his teacher himself nurses him supplies all medicines needed, and pays attention to him as if he were his child" (I-Tsing, Taka Kusu's Translation, page 120).

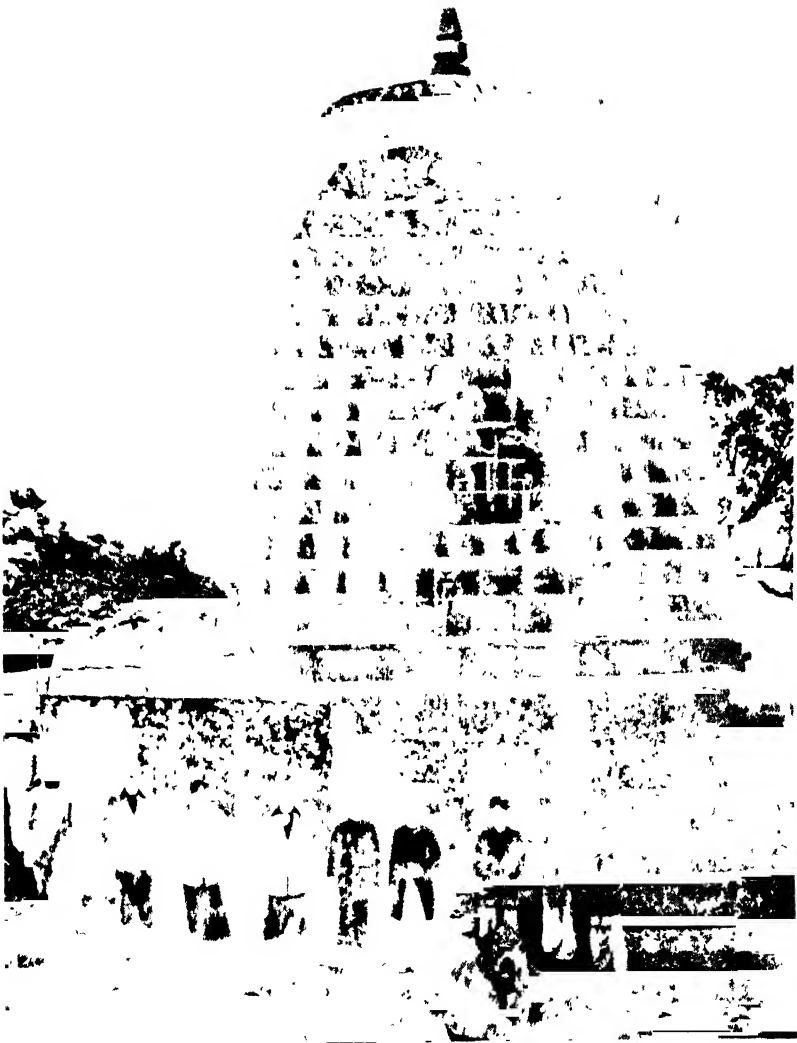
As regards the period of study, 10 years was the ordinary rule. During this period, however, the pupil was allowed to live apart from his teacher, five years after the period when he mastered the 'Vinaya Pitaka'. One important innovation made by the Buddhists was the popularisation of writing. Fa-Hien who stayed in India from 399 to 414 A.D. and who visited the famous seats of learning at Patna and Nalanda attests to this. But this statement of Fa-Hien should not be taken to mean that the oral method of instruction was not adopted in Buddhist educational institutions. The higher branches of knowledge composed by Hindu authors were learnt by heart as in the Brahman schools.

The curriculum of study adopted in the Buddhist places of learning did not differ much from that practised in Brahmanical institutions. The Sanskrit Grammar occupied a prominent place in the subjects for study. I-Tsing enumerates five works on grammar studied in the Nalanda University. They are the following:—

- 1 *The Siddhah* which was a book for children and learnt within six months, the study of which was begun when they were six years old.
- 2 *The Sutra* which contained 1000 *slokas* and which was the work of Panini, the first greatest grammarian in the world. Children began to learn it from their 8th year and completed it after eight months.
- 3 *The Book on Dhatu* which dealt with the roots of words.
- 4 *The Book on the Three Khilas*. The first of these dealt with cases and conjugation, and the other two with the formation of words from roots, suffixes and prefixes. Boys began the study of this book at the 10th year and took 3 years to master it.
- 5 *The Vrithi Sutra* which is a commentary on the foregoing. Boys studied it from 15 and completed it after 5 years of study.

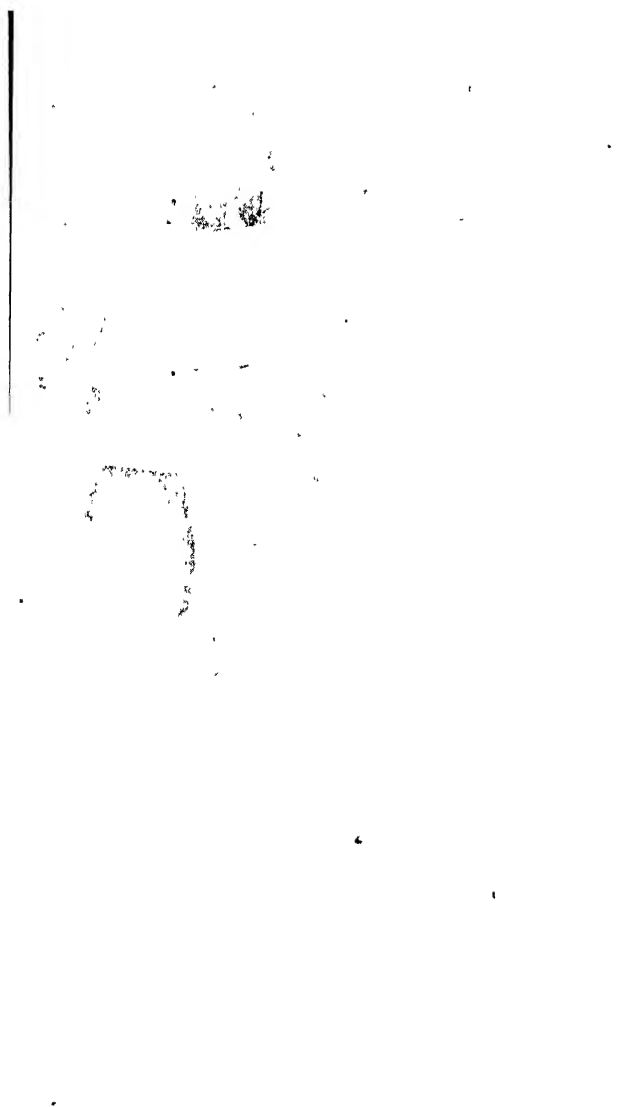
Besides these works on grammar, the students in the Buddhist schools learnt the *Mahābhāṣya*, or the great commentary of Patanjali on Panini-sutras, *Bhatruhari-astra* and probably the *Veda*. The Buddhist monks did not content themselves with the study of their own scriptures but investigated the *Sutras* and *Sastras* of the Hindus as well. 75% of the Buddhist curriculum of study was of Bramanic origin. Other subjects like medicine, were also studied in this period, though medicine did not form part of regular school instruction. Mathematics, Law and Astronomy were confined to the Brahmanic school. It is noteworthy that the Buddhist schools also paid attention to the development of the body and the preservation of health, I-Tsing mentions *walking* as one of the popular exercises taken by the pupils as well as their teachers in this period.

(To be continued.)



The Temple of Kunti on Mahendra giri, the Seat of God Gokarnēśwara

The Statue of Jinadēva and other ancient Sculptures discovered at Mukhalingam.



THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter II.

(Continued from page 276 of Vol. V. Part 4)

Kalinganagara.

In Mahābhārataṁ (Bhishma and Udyōga parvatis), the Kalingas are mentioned twice as separate tribes with two different capitals, viz, Rājapuram and Dantakuram. The former may be identified with Jajpur in Utkala and the latter with Dantapuram in Ganjam District. In Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam (Ayōdhyakāṇḍa, 71 Sarga), there is a Kalinganagara mentioned as lying on the banks of the River Sōṇa and to the west of Ayōdhya (North Kōsala), when Dasaratha was ruling over it.

The Jātakas and the Ceylon Chronicles mention that Simhapura in Kalinga was called Dantapura by Buddhists owing to the tooth relic of Buddha being kept there. In Asoka's time, Dhāuli, lying at the junction of the Bhārgavi and the Dayā rivers, was apparently the capital of Kalinga. (In Kharavela's time, Kalinganagara was the capital and it is identified by scholars¹ with Dhāuli or Tōsali.)

1. Mr. K. P. Jasaswal whose views are entitled to the greatest weight thus writes on the subject in J.B.O.R.S. Vol III, Part IV p 140-141 and p. 481:—

“Several times the capital of Kalinga is mentioned in the inscription (of Kharavela) either as the “Kalinga capital” or as “the capital”, but nowhere its name is given. There are, however, indications that the capital must have been near the site of the inscription. One of the buildings which Kharavela built was on the banks of the river Prachi. This is a small river near modern Bhuvaneshwar and not very far from Dhāuli and Hathigumpha. Then Kharavela is described to have brought riches “here” from his conquests. The capital must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneshwar and Hathigumpha. Dhāuli, where the Tosali inscription of Asoka is found, is in the neighbourhood. Dhāuli itself, as pointed out to me by Mr H.P. Sastri, philologically stands for Tosali. Tosali was also the provincial capital under Asoka. We would be justified in accepting that the capital of Kharavela was Tosali in whose neighbourhood the Hathigumpha cave and the Prachi are to be found. From the inscription it is evident that Kharavela continued the old capital of the Kalinga kings and that he did not found a new one. He mentions the old buildings of the former kings,

Pliny (following Megasthenes) calls the royal capital of Kalinga *Parthali* and locates it in northern part of Kalinga. Parthali, I think, was another name of, or a part of, Tosali (see my second paper). *Kalinga-nagara of the Dasarukumar-Charita was near Rajamahendri on the mouth of the Godavari. That had nothing to do with Kharavela's Kalinganagara. Kalinga in later centuries became identified with the Telugu country. Megasthenes is a better guide for Kharavela's time.*

There has been much discussion with regard to the identification of Kalinganagara which is mentioned as the capital of the Gaṅga kings in almost all their C. P. Grants, dating from the close of the 5th century A.D. to the middle of the 12th century. (Dr. Fleet, while editing the Chicakole Plates of Indravarma III and the Parlakimidi Plates of Indravarma II was the first scholar to identify Kalinganagara with the modern Kalinga-paṭṭaṇam, a seaport at the mouth of the River Vamśadhāra.) Hiuen Tsang visited and described the capital of Kalinga about A. D. 632 without mentioning its name. While Dr. Fleet identified it with modern Kalinga-paṭṭaṇam on the sea-coast, in Ganjam District, (Alexandar Cunningham identified it with Rajamahendri on the River Godavari.²) But the C.P. grants of the Gaṅga kings refer to it as Kalinganagara which was (identified with Mukhalingam-Nagarikatakam first of all by Mr.G.V. Ramamurty) (According to this scholar,³ no traces of antiquities historically important, are discovered at Kalinga-Paṭṭaṇam to prove it to be the capital. Mukhalingam on R, Vamśadhāra has these antiquities.) Till Nagarakatakam, 2 miles off, we get ancient historical remains. There are temples dedicated to Siva under the names of Madhukēśvara, Bhīmēśvara and Sōmēśvara. The first temple contains several inscriptions on its walls and pillars. Most of the inscriptions found here record grants made by Public Officers to the God who is called "Kalingāvani nagarē Śrīmanmadhukēśvarāya". This shows that the town was called Kalinganagara or capital of the Kalinga country. According to the Kornī Plates of Chōdagaṅga dated Ś 1040, Kamarnava I had his capital at (Jantavura) Dantapura, while his nephew Kamarnava II founded a town called Nagara where he built a lofty temple for Siva, in *Linga* form, called Madhukēśa which temple probably still exists at Mukhalingam. Mukhalingam is a corruption of Moha-lingam which is the Oriya form of the

The Airas of Kosala moved to Utkala (Orissa) and founded their capital in the Khaṇḍagiri at Eka-Prastara. This must have been done before the conquest by Asoka, the great enemy of the Aira. It is to be noticed that the capital of Kalinga before Asoka and after the Nandas, is called *Parthali* (by Megasthenes) which corresponds with the *Prastara* of our MS. By its location in the Khanda-giri, it seems to have been identical with Dhauli (Tosali.).

2. Ancient Geography of India pp. 590-591.

In the seventh century, the capital of the kingdom of *Kie-ling-kia*, or *Kalinga*, was situated at from 1400 to 1500 *li*, or from 233 to 250 miles, to the south-west of Ganjam. Both bearing and distance point either to *Rajamahendri* on the Godavari river, or to *Korīnga* on the sea-coast, the first being 251 miles to the south-west of Ganjam, and the other 246 miles in the same direction. But as the former is known to have been the capital of the country for a long period, I presume that it must be the place that was visited by the Chinese pilgrim. The original capital of Kalinga is said to have been *Srikakola*, or *Chikakol*, 20 miles to the south-west of Kalingapatam.

3. Vide Madras Journal of Lit. Soc. 1889—1894, p.68 ff. Also Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, No 24, p. 187 ff.

word Madhuka-lingam. These views of Mr. G. V. Ramamurti were accepted by Drs. Hultsch⁴ and V. A. Smith⁵ and R. D. Banerje.^{5a}

Those scholars⁶ who state that the modern Kalingapattanam is the ancient Kalinganagara have relied on the following grounds:—

(1) The Poet Kalidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa Kāvya* described the Kalinga capital as a sea-port town.

(2) The poet Daṇḍi in his Daśakumāra Charitaṁ refers to the capture of the Kalinga king near the sea-coast.

(3) The present name of Kalingapattanam and its location on the sea-coast at the mouth of the River Vamsadhāra.

(4) The statement in a certain Early Gaṅga Grant that Kalinganagara was the happy abode in all seasons and was embraced by the arm-like waves of the sea.

(5) The description of Vēmulavāḍa Bhīmakavi that it is like an island, situated at the confluence of River Vamsadhara and the sea.

(6) The presence of some antiquities at that place like gold coins, large-sized bricks and relics of old buildings with the possibility of many more being drowned by the sea.

(7) The fact that, while Dantapura is alluded to in the Korni Plates of Anantavarma Chodagaṅga as the capital of Kalinga, Nagaram is simply referred to as a town where the temple of Madhukeśa is built.

But these grounds do not prove that it was always the capital. Even if the capital of Kalinga was on the sea-coast in the times of Samudragupta (350 A.D.) and Kalidasa (close of 4th century A.D. and beginning of 5th century A.D.) it would not follow that it continued to be so in the 6th and in the succeeding centuries. The Poet's references to Raghu's invasion recall Samudragupta's invasion of Kalinga which took place about 350 A.D. if not earlier, when Mahendragiri-Kottur, according to some scholars, happened to be the capital of Kalinga. All the towns of Kalinga mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription are not on the sea-coast. The 'Varma' Line of kings who ruled over Kalinga probably in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. had similarly their capitals in the interior and not on the sea-coast. Thus, Saktivarma

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, pp. 94-98. Also Vol. XVII p. 332.

5. Early History of India p. 498.

5a. History of Orissa, p. 142.

The capital of the country was of the same size as the capitals of Odra and Kaṅgoda, i.e., twenty li or three-and-half a mile in circumference. Older writers like Cunningham, wanted to identify the capital of Kalinga with modern Rājamahendri but Fergusson was correct in placing it near modern Kalingapattanam. The inscriptions of the early Eastern Gaṅgas prove that the Kalinganagara of their inscriptions was situated in the vicinity of Mukhalingam and Sri-Kurman.

6. Mr. M. S. Sarma in editing *Chikkalavalasa Plates of Vajrahasta III in Bharati of Feb., 1925* pp. 144-46 and Mr. G. Narasinga Rao in his article on *Kalinganagara* contributed to *Kalingadesacharitra* edited by me and also in his article on *The capital of Kalinga kingdom*, published in the *Maharaja's*

of Ragole Plates⁷ had his capital at Pittapur. Some early Epigraphs mention Pishṭapura as the capital of Kalinga e.g., Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription (380 A.D.) and Pulikesin's Aihole Inscription (635 A.D.) Umavarma of Brhatprosta Plates⁸ and Chandavarma of Komarti Plates⁹ issued their Grants from Simhapura. Nanda Prabhanjanavarma of Chicacole Plates¹⁰ had his capital at Sarepalli. The Epics and the Jatakas, and some early inscriptions mention Rajapura, Dantapura, Simhapura, Kalinganagara, Sarepalli and Pittapur—all interior places—as capitals of Kalinga. In the same manner, the Salankayana kings of the period A.D. 350-450 and the Vishnukundin kings of the period A.D. 400-610 had their capitals at Vengi and Dendalur respectively and both were interior places. The Eastern Chalukyas had their capital first at Pittapur,

College Magazine, Vijayanagaram, Vol 1, No. 2, Pp. 49-62 and Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya in his article on *Kalinganagara and excavation at its present site*, published in J.B.O.R.S. parts III and IV of 1929, maintain that the modern Kalinpattanam in Chicacole taluk is the ancient Kalinganagaram, while Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, in his articles on Mukhalingam and *The identification of Kalinganagara* contributed to *Kalingadesacharitra* and J.B.O.R.S. Vol XV Pts. I and II respectively, maintains, on more or less the same lines, first suggested by Mr. G. V. Ramamurthy that the modern Mukhalingam, a village in Parlakimidi taluk is the ancient Kalinganagaram. Mr. G. Ramadas in his article on Kalinganagara published in the *Calcutta Review* for March 1931 pp. 405-422 maintains the same view, which he already expressed in *Pharati* for 1925 pp 91-95 viz, that Kothur was the capital of Early Gangas and Mukhalingam-Nagarakatakam, the capital of Later Gangas. Mr. B. C. Muzumdar in his *Orissa in the Making* pp 37-38 write thus:

"There is some political interest attached to the question as to where the principal capital town of the Kalinga Empire was located. The fact that the Emperor Asoka had to proceed beyond Jaugada to complete his victory, argues very strongly in favour of the supposition that the capital of the country was situated somewhere in the district of Ganjam. When the country was annexed to Magadha, Tosali was very likely made the seat of the Governor; it is now only conjectured that this town was in the Middle Kalinga not far away from both Dhauli and Khandagiri. As the capital Kalinganagara of Kharavel and his predecessors was once washed off by the sea, we cannot but infer that it was on the sea-shore.

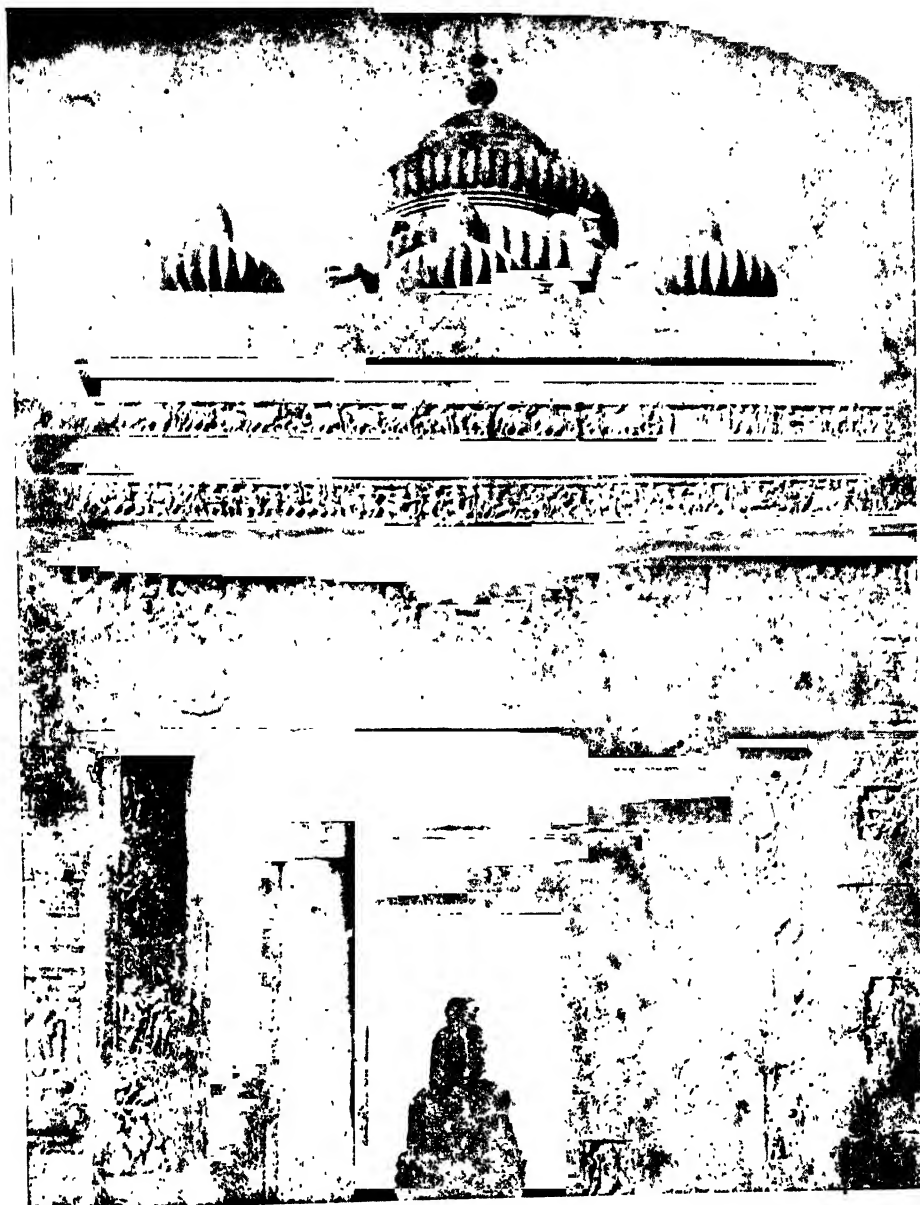
I am strongly inclined to think that the modern Kalinganagar on the sea-shore in the district of Ganjam, is not far off from where the old capital stood. The town Mukhalingam in Ganjam, which contains archaeological remains of old times, is an inland town, and does not answer the physical description of the ancient capital. The name Mukhalingam however, is interesting, for it retains the name of the Upper Kalinga itself which was Muccalingam, as Pliny informs us. It has perhaps to be admitted that Asoka would not have proceeded to Jaugada if the main capital of Kalinga was not somewhere in the district of Ganjam. The description of the town as occurs in the *RaghuVamsa*, by Kalidasa, points out clearly that in the 5th century A.D. Kalinganagara was by the sea-coast in the Andhra country."

7. Ep. Ind, Vol XII, No. I, Pp. 1-3.

8. Ep. Ind. Vol XII, No. II, pp. 4-6.

9. Ep. Ind. Vol IV, p. 144,

10 Ind. Ant. Vol X, pp 243-244.



THE TEMPLE OF MADHUKĒŚWARA IN MUKHALINGAM.



The Seal of the C. P. Grant of Śrī Dēvēndra Varmma.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥
 श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥
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 श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥

C. P. Inscription of Tri-Kalingādhpati Indravarmma.



then at Vengi and finally at Rājamahēndravaram. It is therefore doubtful whether, in those ancient times, the Eastern Gaṅgas alone had their capital on the sea-coast. Dandi's description does not refer to the capital being situated near the sea-coast but only to the capture of the Kalinga king in the forests near the sea-shore when he had been there to enjoy the vernal festival. The descriptions, alleged to have been made by Bhimakavi, are *prima facie* incredible and even otherwise, apply with equal force to Mukhalingam on the River Vamsadhara, while those mentioned in the Śrīkākulam C. P. Grant¹¹ of Indravarma III of G.E. 138 refer not to Kalinga Nagara but to Kalinga Country being surrounded by sea. It is probable that the name Kalinga paṭṭanam refers to a sea-port and Kalinga nagara to an interior capital city. Though some relics of minor importance only are discovered near Kalingapaṭṭanam, the antiquities discovered at Mukhalingam are so overwhelmingly convincing that it should be regarded undoubtedly as the ancient capital city of Kalinga, both in the times of the Early and the Later Gaṅga kings.

Though Mukhalingam has not been excavated, it has yielded several ancient historical relics like large bricks, gold coins, Jain and Buddhist statues and sculptures, while its temple of Maḍhukēśa, described in Chodaganga's copper-plate charters as having been built by Kāmārṇava II, contains ancient art and sculpture as well as inscriptions.

The dilapidated temples and antiquarian remains, that lie scattered all along the two miles of way between Mukhalingam and Nagarikatakam, clearly attest to the greatness of ancient Kalinganagara, a name which is referred to in the several hundreds of inscriptions still found on the walls of the Aniyanka Bhimēśwara and Madhukēśwara temples in Mukhalingam. The tradition imbedded in the C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Chodaganga that Kāmārṇava I had his capital at Dantapura, while his nephew Kāmārṇava II changed it to Nagara, may be believed. Dantapura is now in ruins and lies on the road between Chicacole Road Railway Station and Mukhalingam. It is probable therefore that, while keeping it also as a royal residence, the early kings built another city on the other side of the River Vamśadhāra, protected by it and by the hills closely, on all sides.

In Samudragupta's time, both Utkala and Kālīṅga were divided into several petty states and the capital of Kalinga was Mahendragiri-Kothur, a sea-coast place at the mouth of R. Mahendranaya. Kalidasa while describing *Raghudandī-Yātra* probably narrated the events of Samudragupta's conquests and so only described the Kālīṅga capital as being on the sea-coast.

The "Varma" Line of Kings who are all styled Kalingādhipatis ruled, as already stated, over the whole of Kalinga from their capitals,

Simhapura, Pishtapura, and Šarepalli. It is the Gaṅga Kings who refer to Kalinganagara as their capital, and to Sakala-Kalinga and Tri-Kalinga as the countries over which they ruled.

Though no stone inscriptions of the Early Ganga Kings are discovered in any of the temples of Mukhalingam, several important Copper-plate charters of the Early Gaṅga Kings are discovered in places like Achyutapuram, Siddhantam, and Dantapuram, situated close to Mukhalingam. The grant of a field near the *King's tank* in Siddhantam (close to Mukhalingam) in *Varāhavartani vishaya* (Modern Chicacole Taluq) is significant, pointing to the existence of the King's capital closeby. The capital of *Trikalingāihipati* Indravarma of Jirgani plates¹² was Dantapur, the ruins of which can still be seen. He made a gift of the Jijjika village in Gaṅga Era 39 which is equal to A. D. 533 according to my calculation. From that time, till the time of Vajrahasta III who gave, in Ś.967 or A. D. 1045 from his Royal residence at Dantapur, 35 villages to his own relative Ādityachōṭṭa, that town probably remained a capital. If the tradition contained in the Korni plates can be believed, then, a certain Kāmārṇava II built a new capital at Nagara and constructed a lofty temple for Madhukēśa. This King may be identified with Kāmārṇava of the Table who ruled from A. D. 941 to A.D. 976. His successor, Aniyanka Bhīma or Vajrahasta II. (A. D. 980—1015) probably built the present Aniyanka Bhīmēśwara temple in Mukhalingam at the close of the 10th century. An inscription¹³ probably of this King reveals a gift of land to Vatēśwara in Palur, a village in Chatrapur Taluq. From the fact that a new capital, called Nagaram, was built and also from the fact that Dantapuram the previous capital was in the interior close to Mukhalingam, and not on the sea-coast, it would be reasonable to believe that the latter place alone, where the temples of Madhukēśa and Bhīmēśa still stand intact, was made the capital and called Kalinganagara in all the charters of the Kings. (*Mukhalinga Kshetra Māhatmyamu* reveals the fact that the terms *Kalinga-Nagaram*, *Kalingāvani-Nagaram* and *Trikalingāvani-Nagaram*, as mentioned in all the inscriptions found in the temples of Madhukēśwara, came to be changed into the modern Mukhalingam on account of the God Madhukēśwara or Madhukalingēśwara or Mukhalingēśwara installed in the Temple.) It may be believed.

The following names, found in the inscriptions¹⁴ inscribed on the walls of Madhukēśwara temple in Mukhalingam, refer to Nagaram as being the capital of Kalinga and identify it with the village of Mukhalingam in Parlakimidi Taluq:—

Kalingadeśa - Nagaram, *Kalingāvani - Nagaram*, *Kalinga-nagaram*, *Nagaram*, *Nagarapuvāda* and *Trikalinga Nagaram*. The name Mukhalingam is, however, not found in any of the inscriptions and as already pointed out, it is used as the corrupt form of *Madhukā-Linga n* or Madhukēśa which latter term is found in the inscriptions. Nagaram and Nagarapuvada, found in the inscriptions, may be identified with the modern village of Nagarakatakam close to Mukhalingam.

12. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 49-53.

13. Fnsco. No. 828 in the An. Report on S.I. Ep. for 1917.

14. The following inscription numbers contained in S.I. Inscriptions Vol. V are noteworthy and in particular No. 1010 which expressly refers to an order of Oho-dagāṅga issued from Kalinganagaram for the conduct of the worship of Trikalin-gadevā. All these inscriptions are found in the Mukhalingam temple—Nos. 1007, 1010, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1040, 1042, 1046, 1049, 1052, 1057, 1078, 1083, 1098, 1101, 1142.

‡ A. Journals and Books Presented to the Society's Library.

- 1 Journal of the A. H. R. Society, Vol I, by Mr. D. Sambasiva Rao.
- 2 Rajahmundry Arts College Magazines Nos. I,II&III by Mr.R.Subba Rao
- 3 Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Vol. I. „
- 4 Andhra University Library Catalogue „
- 5 Peddapur Samsthana Charitra Vimarsanam „
- 6 The Panchayets under the Peshwas „
- 7 Administrative Report of the Govt. Museum and Connemara Public Library by the Museum Superintendent
- 8 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. No 44. by the Government of India.
- 9 Imperial Library Catalogue, Calcutta. by the Superintendent.
- 10 Who is Rama, the Hero of the Ramayana, by Mr. M. Venkataratnam.
- 11 The Historical element in the Mahābhārata „
- 12 SrimadBhagavadgīta Bhāshya Saptasiti.

‡ B. Journals and Books Sent for Review.

- 1 Palikannika circular Roof Plates by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.
- 2 Notes Surba Sculpture Boudhique „
- 3 The Eastern Art. „
- 4 The tree of Jesse and Indian Parallels of Sources „
- 5 Sanyasi and Fakir raiders in Bengal.
- 6 History of Sri Mahābhāratam by Mr. P. Subramanya Sastry.
- 7 Atmakatha by the Andhra Patrika Office.
- 8 Jirnavijayanagara Samrajyam „
- 9 Bharatiya Chitrakala „
- 10 Vilasapura Vaibhavam „
- 11 Jivana Prabhatam „
- 12 The Maharatta Rajahs of Tanjore by Mr. K. R. Subramanyam.
- 13 The Origin of Saivism and its history in the Tamil land „
- 14 Śāsanapadyamanjari by the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.
- 15 Gruhastāśrama tatvam.
- 16 Kadambakula by Mr. G. M. Moraes.

‡‡ Journals and Books presented to the Society's Library or sent for Review in the Society's Journal will be thankfully received and duly acknowledged and reviewed.

Owing to the change of Editorship and the necessity of issuing this part without any more delay, the reviews had to be kept over for the next part, for which the Editor expresses his sincere regret.

A. Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 30-6-31.**Life Member.**

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3. Subscribers.

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B. Annual Donation received during the Quarter.**Life Patron,**

Raja Sri Vyricherla Narayana Gajapathi Raja Bahadur.

Raja of Chemudu, and Anakapalli, etc., Estates. 100 0 0

Total Rs. 242 14 0

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NOTICE.

The Editor regrets the inordinate delay in the issue of this Journal due to shortage of type and consequent irregularities in the Press which have since been made up. It is earnestly hoped that the next two parts will appear, as a combined issue, before the close of May 1932.

THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

10-4-1932.

The Tenth Annual General Body Meeting will be held in the Hindu Samaj Hall at 8 A.M. on 10-4-32. As many Members as possible are requested to be present on the occasion. Such of the Members who wish to read Papers before the Public Meeting to be held in the Evening at 6 P.M. in the Society's Rooms, Olcot Gardens are requested to intimate the fact to the Hon. Secretary beforehand.

KAKATIYA DAY CELEBRATIONS-WARRANGAL

25th, 26th and 27th April 1932.

The Society, having obtained permission from H.E.H. The Nizam's Government to celebrate the *Kakatiya Day at Hanumakonda-Warrangal on 25th, 26th and 27th of April, 1932* has resolved to do so on the said dates. It therefore requests its numerous Members, Subscribers and Patrons and other Gentlemen who are interested in its work to be so good as to attend the function and make it a great success. It also requests such of the gentlemen who possess research materials such as Coins, Copper-plates and Impressions of stone inscriptions and Photos of temples etc., bearing on the social, religious and political history of the Kakatiyas to spare the same for the Historical Exhibition. All Scholars are earnestly requested to send the original papers or summaries of their papers so as to reach the Secretary on, or *before 20th April only*, so that they may be read at the Conference.



Standing.—Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L.
Former Secretary and Editor.

Sitting — Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L.,

Mr. J. Ganganna, B. A., L. T.,
Former President.

Mr. C. Atmaraju, B. A., B. L.,
Former Editor.
Mr. G. G. Somayazulu, M. A., B. L.
Former Vice-President



JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Volume VI.

October 1931.

Part II.

OUR PATRONS.

BY N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L., Treasurer and Editor.

It is ten years since the Society was started and six years since it has commenced the publication of a quarterly journal in English. It is time we take stock of our financial position and see how we can improve our diminishing resources to meet our growing liabilities.

In the beginning of its career in 1922, the Society celebrated the Ninth Centenary of Rajarajanarendra and published in Telugu its first Commemoration Volume called *Rāja Rāja Narendra Pattābhishēka Sañchika* under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

Subsequently, in June 1927, the Society celebrated the "Kalinga Day" at Mukhalingam with the generous help and under the kind patronage of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi, the Raja Sahib of Kallikota and Attagada, Sir A. P. Patro, Kt. B.A., B.L., M. L. C., Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Bahadur and other donors and published a commemoration Volume in Telugu called *Kalinga Deśa Charitra* under the editorship of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. The Society has now resolved to celebrate the "Kakatiya Day" at Warangal during April 1932 and to publish a Commemoration Volume in Telugu called *Kakatiya Sañchika* under the editorship of Mr. M. Rama Rao, B.A., (Hons.) with the generous support and co-operation of the enlightened public of the Nizam's Dominions.

Since 1926, the Society has been publishing a Quarterly Journal in English and so far 22 parts have been printed and published. For this work, the Maharaja of Pittapur and the Raja Sahebs of Parlakimidi, Kallikota and Chemudu and the Rani Saheba of Kolanka have already given liberal help while the Rajas of Jeypore, Puri and Chikati have promised aid.

The main sources of income for carrying on the work of the Society are *subscriptions* received from Members and Subscribers, *donations* received from the landed Aristocracy in the Andhra and Kalinga countries and *grants* from the Government and Local Bodies. Another source of income is the amount received by the *sale* of the Society's publications, viz., *Rājārāja Sanchika* and *Kalinga Deśa Charitra* and the parts of the Journal, to non members. We have received a sum of Rs. 2,000 and odd in the past by the sale of Rajaraja Sanchikas, Kalinga Sanchikas and Journal parts. The Director of Public Instruction has been pleased to recommend the Raja Raja Sanchika to all Libraries and Schools in the Andhra desa and certain parts of it and Kalinga Sanchika have also been prescribed for the Oriental Title Examination and for Hons. Courses in Telugu by the Andhra University. With regard to Kalingadesa Charitra, the Society has incurred a cost of over Rs. two thousand in printing and publishing 500 copies of the work. It is priced at Rs. 7/8 a copy. It consists of over 800 pages, handsomely bound in full calico and profusely illustrated with photo prints of ancient architecture, inscriptions and hill tribes of the Kalingadesa. Owing to financial depression we are not able to sell many copies and recoup the outlay on the work. It is hoped that with the reduction of one rupee in the price of each book, allowed for members recently, more orders will come in.

In the past our Patrons, the Maharaja of Pithapuram and the Rajas of Parlakimidi and Kallikota and our Honorary President, Sir A. P. Patro Kt., have helped us with munificent donations of Rs. 500 and above while the Rajas of Jeypore and Bobbili and the Rani of Kolanka gave Rs. 300 each and but for their timely help the Society would not have been able to carry on its work. The Government of Madras have been pleased to give us annual grants aggregating to Rs. 750 during the last three years with which we have been able to equip our Free Reading and Library with valuable books including an almost half the set of the Indian Antiquary Journals. The Rajahmundry Municipal Council have set a good example by giving us a library grant of Rs 100 last year.

Many generous-minded gentlemen have responded to our appeal for funds for the Kalinga Desa Charitra besides those mentioned already. Thus, the Zamindars of Mandasa, Devidi, Gopalpore, Gangole, Kambirigam and Gazzaram have donated Rs. 100 and above, while a number of others contributed Rs. 50 and lesser amounts and we have published the photo of our donors and acknowledged their help in the Kalinga Sanchika. In this connection, we acknowledge our special thanks to Sir A. P. Patro Kt., who has been our Honorary President from the beginning and who has given Rs 600 for the Sanchika and a very valuable set of Copper-Plates for the Journal and evinced uniform interest in the progress of the Society.



**Maharaja Sri Vikrama Deo Varma Bahadur,
Raja of Jeypore.**



• Raja Sri Ramachandra Marda Raja Deo Bahadur,
Rajah of Kallikota & Attagada.

Besides the publication of Commemoration Volumes after celebrating historical occasions and a Quarterly Journal of Research, the Society has been maintaining, since November 1927, a free Reading Room and Library here and as an adjunct thereto the Society is also developing a small Museum containing research materials such as Copper-plate and stone inscriptions, rare gold, silver, copper, lead and other coins, manuscripts and other materials of historical value. We receive in exchange for our Journal and the Telugu publications of the Society over 80 valuable Journals and Publications, both Indian and Foreign, and now our Library consists of over 900 books purchased, presented, or received in exchange. In this connection, we have to thank our President Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L., and our Hon. Vice-President Mr. S. Narasimharao B.A. Bar-at-law and other members for making presents of valuable books to the Society. We have hitherto located our Free Reading Room and Library in a rented building in a congested locality. We have now removed it to the local Theosophical Lodge in Halcott gardens which has a spacious and airy building facing the river Godavari. We must thank the President and the members of the Lodge for giving us the free use of their building. Our ambition is to have a building of our own with library and lecture halls where we can conduct the activities of the Society. This ought not to be a difficult matter considering that we have several Rajas and Zamindars among our patrons and many rich and liberal minded gentlemen among the members. We approached the Raja of Jeypore, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Bahadur Garu, who has always had the welfare of the Society at heart, to give us a permanent habitation and he was pleased to say that he would sympathetically consider our request.

During the past six years, the Society has been getting, on the average, an annual income of Rs. two thousand two hundred and odd which is spent towards the publication of the English Journal and the Telugu work as well as for the upkeep of the Library and Reading Room and for postal and establishment charges. But the annual income is hardly sufficient to meet the growing needs of the Society. Not to speak of the fact that the Society has no assured income to keep it going, it has now a deficit. So, with its slender resources, the Society has not been able to build up a capital fund.

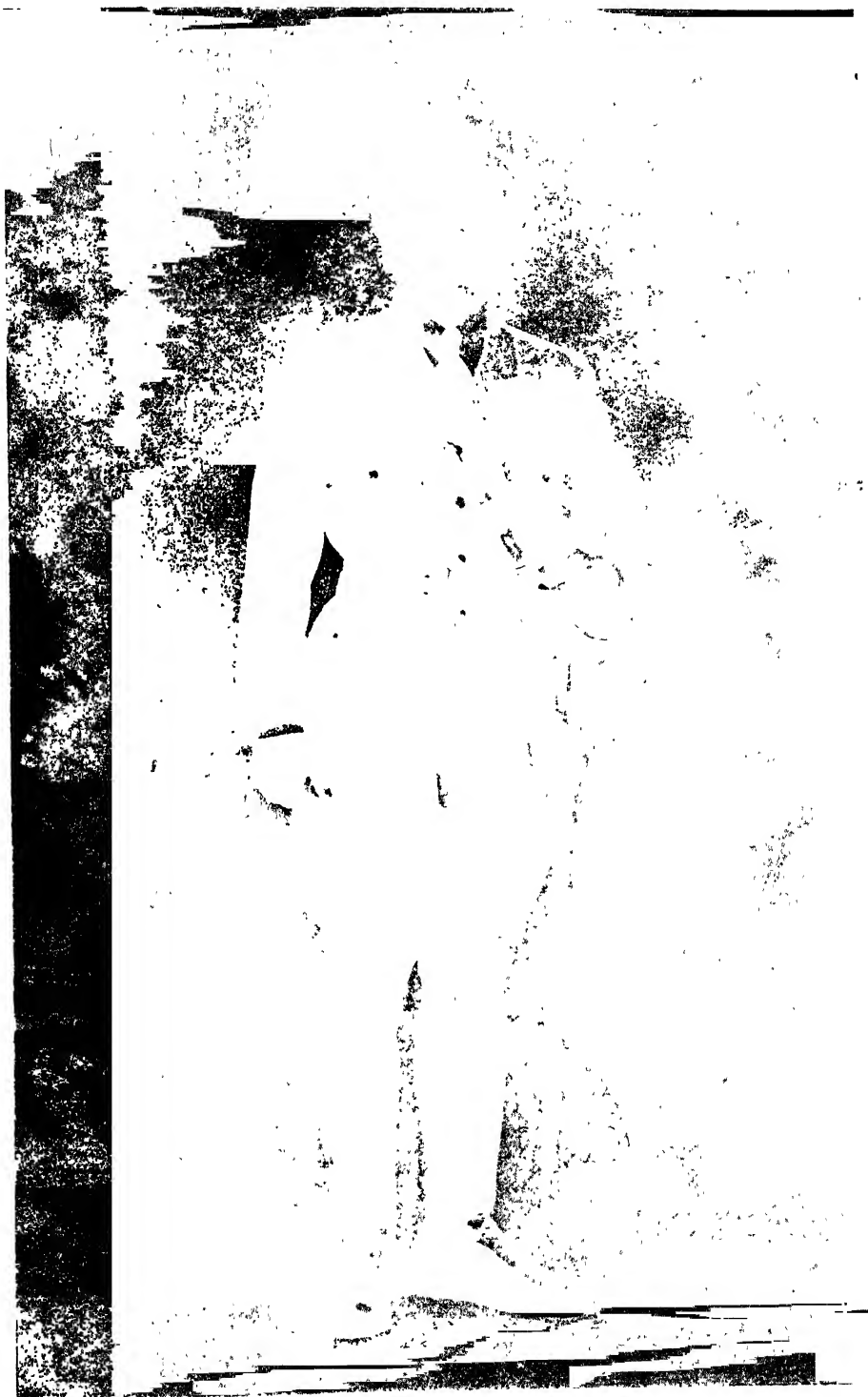
Our Patrons have in the past made us small lump sum contributions and have not assured us of any annual payment. To place the matter on a stable footing, the Society has passed a resolution that a Life Patron may be requested to make a lump sum contribution of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 100 annually and a Life Vice-Patron a lump sum of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 50 annually. The Rajas of Kallikota, Chemudu and Puri have been approached in this connection and they have kindly agreed to become Life Patrons of the Society by paying an annual sum of Rs. 100. We

take this opportunity of rendering unto them the grateful thanks of the Society and of appealing to our other Patrons to become Life Patrons and help us on in our work.

The Society is also appealing to the ordinary members and others to become Life Members by paying once for all Rs. 80 and 70, subscriptions for resident and non-resident life members respectively. We may mention that the Raja of Dharakota, Mr. B.V.S. Narayana Deo and Sri Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jaganadha Rao Bahadur Garu have kindly become Life-Members

We need hardly state that our Society is the only one of its kind doing original research work in this part of the country by purely private effort and we are glad to state that our work is well and widely appreciated both in India and in Foreign countries as may be gauged from the fact that several of the Universities and Government Colleges and Research departments in India and some learned Societies abroad either subscribe to our Journal or get it by exchange. We have now 40 subscribers on our rolls paying Rs. 6/8 annually and 80 Exchangers and we appeal to the Libraries and other learned bodies to encourage our work by subscribing to our Journal. We also appeal to the District and Local Boards and Municipalities in the Andhra districts to give us Library grants annually as the Rajahmundry Municipal Council have done and also help us by buying copies of our Telugu publication, viz., *Kalinga Dēsa Charitra* for the use of the Board High Schools and Libraries under their management in the same way as they have already purchased copies of *Rāja Rāja Paṭṭābhishēka Sanchika*.

We take this opportunity of appealing to all our Members and Patrons to extend their helping hand still further so as to place the Society on a secure and stable basis. We also appeal to the Government of Madras to continue its support until the Society is able to stand on its own legs. During the past decade, the Society's income has been nearly Rs. Fifteen thousand and its expenditure has come to Rs. Sixteen thousand leaving a deficit of one thousand rupees and unless more Members, Subscribers and Patrons come forward to the Society's aid, it will have very difficult times ahead.





Raja Sri Gaura Chandra Deo Bahadur,
Raja of Chikati.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter III.

(Continued from page 62 Vol. VI Part I)

The Early Kings.

In the previous two articles, the origin and the early history of the Gaṅgas as well as certain other problems like their capital and the initial year of their Era have been described. In this article, the history of the Early Gaṅgas upto Gaṅga Era 397 or, A.D. 890 will be narrated with the help of their published Copper-Plate inscriptions as well as those of contemporary kings and the writings of indiginous and foreign writers.

A part of the earliest Gaṅga inscription was published¹ by Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru and it is dated in the 28th year of the Era. "The Plate is the last one of a set and it was engraved in the well-known Pravardhamāna Era 28, in the month of Phalguna Krishṇāṣṭami. We know nothing about the Donor or the Donee or the Donation", It is a single plate, the last of the set. On the obverse side of it, there are 5 lines and on the reverse, only 2. The language is Sanskrit but the *lipī* is Vēgi or old Tel-Kannaḍa. On paleographical ground, the grant was placed by Mr. Rajaguru in the 7th century A. D., but, according to my calculation, the date of the Grant would be A.D. 521. Some scholars think that the date of the grant, "Pravardhamāna rājya Saṁvatsarasya Aśṭhāviṁśatāni" does not refer to the Gaṅga Era but this view is not correct. ² I agree with Mr. Rajaguru in thinking that Pravardhamāna Rājya Saṁvatsara changed in later grants, into Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsara and also more fully into Gaṅgēyavamsa Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsara. The plate was engraved by Vinaya chandra, son of Bhānu chandra. He also engraved the C.P. grants of Hastivarma and Indravarma, dated 80 and 87 G. E., respectively. Mr. Rajaguru is right in thinking that this Vinayachandra might have been a member of the Apūrva Naṭa Vamśa and the ancestor of Pallavachandra, son of

1 The Tirilingi c.p. grant. pp. 54-57 in J.A.H.R.S. vol. III pt. I.

2 For a fuller discussion, the reader may refer to the articles "Santa Bomvali Grant of Nandavarma-A review" by Mr.G. Ramdas, pp. 82-83 in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pts. 2, 3 and 4 and "A Reply to Mr. Ramdas' Review" by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru pp. 18-20 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV, parts 1 and 2.

Mātruchandra who engraved the Chicacole and Dharmalingeswara C. P. grants of Devendravarma, son of Gunārṇava in 183 and 184 years of Gaṅgēya Era.

The following points, it seems, led him to think about the close relationship between Vinayachandra and Pallavachandra:—

(1) The co-ordination between the metre of Vinayachandra expressed in the Plates of Hastivarma and Indravarma and that of Pallavachandra in the Plates of Devendravarma.

(2) The accentual harmoniousness of the names of both the persons, which end in "Chandra".

(3) The fact that both were court engravers of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty.

Dr. E. Hultsch, while editing the Tekkali Plates of Dānārṇava's son Indravarma has stated, very rightly, that the names of the writers and engravers of the several grants confirm the correctness of the dates of their masters and also given the following table:—

1 The Urlam plates of Hastivarma of G. E. 80 were written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhanuchandra.

2 The Achyutapuram plates of Indravarma of G. E. 87 were written by the same officer. (The Santabommali plates of the same king of the same date were also written by the same officer.)

3 The Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma of G.E. 91 were also written by the same officer.

4 The Chicacole plates of Indravarma of G.E. 128 were engraved by Aditya-Manchin, son of Vinayachandra.

5 The Purle plates of Indravarma of G. E. 137 were engraved by Khandichandra, son of Aditya Bhogika.

6 The Tekkali plates of Indravarma of G. E. 154 were engraved by the same officer.

7 The Chicacole plates of Devendravarma of G. E. 183 were engraved by Sarvachandra son of Khandichandra Bhōgika.

(The Dharmalingeswara C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma of G. E. 184 was written by Pallavachandra, son of Mātruchandra of Apūrva Naṭa varṇsa and engraved by Sarvachandra, son of Khandichandra Bhōgika).

1. *Mitavarma, 28th year (G. E.) = A. D. 522.*

The Tirlingi Plate, dated in the prosperous regnal year 28, undoubtedly belongs to a Gaṅga king, judging from the alphabet and the era used as well as from the engraver's name. Since we have discovered the C.P. grant of Gaṅga Indravarma dated in the year 39 of the same era, it follows that the Donor of the Tirlingi Plate might be his immediate predecessor and probably his father. Taking this Indravarma to be the *Indrādhirāja* of the Eastern region and the adversary of *Indrabhaṭṭāraka* of the Western region, we learn the name of his father to be Mitavarma, as stated in the Godāvari Plates⁵ of Prithvīmula. This king must have founded the Gaṅga dynasty in Kalinga at the close of the 5th century A.D., after the fall of the Gupta power, at the expense of the Vishṇukunḍin kings who were then ruling over Kalinga. His capital was Manalkuḍi, which is not yet identified.

2. *Indravarma I. 39th year (G.E.) = A. D. 533.*

The earliest Gaṅga copper-plate inscription which gives important details about the first historical king of the dynasty is the Jirjingi one, discovered at the village of the same name near Tekkali in the Ganjam district by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A., B.L.; M.L.C., and published by me.⁶ It throws considerable new light on the difficult problem of the Gaṅga Era, both on account of the characters in which it is written and the titles it bestows on its royal donor. The king is called *Tri-Kalingādhipati* or Lord of the Three Kalingas, a title not at all met with in any of the Gaṅga grants up to the time of Vajrahasta whose accession took place in Śaka 960 or A. D. 1037. While the Donor of the Tirlingi Plates does not mention the Gaṅga family name, the Donor of these plates does. The characters employed in this inscription are box-headed and may be said to belong to the beginning of the 6th century A. D. The king is described as the victor in several battles of four-tusked elephants and also as the thousand-fold sun in the sky of the spotless (*pure*) Gaṅga family. The use of the word *amala-kuṭu* in all the other grants of the Gaṅga kings also shows that some at least of the contemporary dynasties were contaminated with foreign blood. It would appear, both from the *name* of this dynasty and the use of such qualifying terms as *spotless*, that the Gaṅga Line was purely indigenous and orthodox, devoted to the sole purpose of developing Brahmanical Hinduism and Culture in Kalinga country. The Gaṅga kings used an Era of their own as opposed to the Śaka Era used by the kings of the several dynasties then ruling over South India.

4. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, Pt. 1 pp. 49--53

5. J. Bom. Br. R.A.S. Vol. XVI p. 116 f.

6. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 49--53.

The inscription is written in Vēgi or old Tel-Kannaḍa characters of the 6th century A. D. and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the closing verses of Vyāsa, the rest of the inscription is in prose. (The grant was made from the capital city of Dantapura by the king who was devoted to the feet of Holy Īśvara.) He had the titles of Mahārāja, Tri-Kalingādhīpati, Thousand-fold Sun in the sky of the pure Gaṅga family and Victor in several battles of four-tusked elephants. He granted the village of Jijjika, modern Jirjangi, in Tekkali Taluq of Ganjam district, free from all kinds of taxes and obstacles, to Agniswāmi and his son Rudraswāmi, in two equal shares.

In my opinion, it is this king that is referred to in Prithvīmula's Godāvari Plates as having defeated the Vishnukunḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka. While Dr. Fleet stated⁷ that possibly Indravarma of 87 and 91 G. E. should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the E. Chalukya Line who ruled for a week in A.D. 663, Dr. Kielhorn suggested that the same king should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Vishnukunḍin Line. Dr. Dubreuil accepted this latter opinion and stated⁸ that the battle might have taken place *in the beginning of the sixth century*. From the discovery of the Jirjangi Plates of Indravarma of 39 G.E. who alone possesses the title of *Trikalingādhīpati* among all the early kings and who expressly refers to his victories in several battles of four-tusked elephants, and specially from the fact that the characters of the Plates are box-headed and therefore probably belong to the beginning of the 6th century A. D., I am led to believe that it was *this* king who fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Vishnukunḍin Line. Since this Vishnukunḍin king lived about 530 A. D. and since he might be the contemporary of Gaṅga Indra I of 39 G. E., it follows that the Gaṅga Era started about 490 A. D. Prithvīmula's Godāvari Plates state that Prithvīmula, son of Prabhākara, in his 25th regnal year issued an order from Kāndāli to the Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs of the district of Tālupāka granting the village of Chūyipāka *at the instance of Mitnvarma's son, King Indravarma*, who conquered Indrabhaṭṭāraka. (This latter king ruled over South-Kalinga and Vengi during the period A. D. 500-530. (He is described, in a grant of his found at Rāmatīrtham near Vizianagaram in the Vizag district, as having defeated in hundreds of thousands of battles several four-tusked elephants (Airāvatas of Indra).) Prithvīmula's Godāvari Plates also state that Indrarāja, seated on his elephant *Supratika* and heading a powerful confederacy of princes struck down the elephant *Kumuda* on which Indrabhaṭṭāraka was seated. *Supratika*, being the name of the elephant of the North-Eastern region and *Kumuda* of the South-Western region, it clearly

7. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, pp. 119-122 and Vol. XVI, pp. 181-184.

8. Ancient History of the Dekkan pp. 76 and 91.

9. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI Pt. 1 p. 19,

follows that king Indra of N. E. region, i.e., Kalinga defeated king Indra of S.W. region, i.e., Vengi. Probably, (South Kalinga (Modern Visagapatam and East Godāvāri districts) formed the bone of contention and ultimately the Gaṅga Indra succeeded in wresting it from out of the hands of the Vishṇukunḍin Indra.) Therefore only, the Chikkulla Plates of his successor Vikramēndravarma have mentioned Lendalur (Modern Dendalur, near Vengi, in Ellore Taluq) as the capital of the Vishṇukunḍin Line, though the Rāmātirtham Plates were issued from Puranisangam in Visag district. (Evidently, the Gaṅga king succeeded in pushing his Vishṇukunḍin rival across the River Godāvāri and assuming the title of *Trikalingādhipati*. This title would suggest that he ruled over the whole country extending from the Chilka Lake in the north to the River Godāvāri in the south./

This king gave his C.P. grant from his capital Dantapura¹⁰ which is to be identified with the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the River Vamśadhāra, three miles from the Chicacole Road Station. The village of Jijjika which was granted to two Vedic Brahmins is near Tekkali in the Ganjam district. (The object of the grant seems to be to encourage the settlement of Vedic or Vaidika Brahmins in Kalinga country so that the Vedic lore and cult might spread. The king was a devotee of Paramēśvara and hence the Saivite form of worship spread in right earnest along the east coast. From the Godāvāri Plates of Prithvīmula, we learn that that king, *acting under the orders of the Gaṅga king*, granted a whole village called Ohuyipāka to Vedic scholars. It was thus the practice of the several kings belonging to the several dynasties then ruling over the South of India to encourage the spread of Vedic learning and Saivite faith. It was an Age of devout Saivism.)

3. *Anantavarma* Deva's son, *Devēndravarmadeva*. G.E. 51-A. D. 545.

It is probable, though it is not stated so in inscriptions, that Mahārajah Anantavarma was the son and successor of Indra I. He is

10. This Dantapura, in my opinion, is the same as the town mentioned in the Buddhist literature as being famous for containing Buddha's tooth relic (*Danta*). The discovery of several Buddhist relics near the place such as statues, large sized bricks, and ancient coins and pottery would only strengthen the view.

From *Mahābhārata* (Udyogaparvam, Adhyāyam 47), we learn that Dantapura was the capital city of Kalinga and there Sreekrishna killed its ruler Dantavakra. It was situated close to the Eastern sea. The Jataka stories and the Buddhist chronicles mention that Simhapura in Kalinga was renamed Dantapura owing to Buddha's tooth relic being deposited in a stupa there after his death. According to Pliny, Dantagula or Dantakura or Dantapura was the capital of Kalinga and it was situated close to a big river. Yuan-chwang's description of Kalinga and its capital is interpreted by some scholars as pointing out to Dantapura being the capital and Kalingapattanam the sea port. In several of the Early and Later Ganga C.P. Grants, Dantapura is mentioned as the capital or chief city of the Gaṅga Empire.

called "the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas." Nothing else is known about his reign. His son's copper-plates,¹¹ found along with those of his son Satyavarmadeva of G. E. 51 and Nandaprabhanjanavarma and Indravarma III of G. E. 128, in Chicacole in the Ganjam District, throw additional light on some of the problems connected with the Gaṅga history. (The seal of the plates contains the figures of a couchant bull and a crescent at the top of it, the emblems of Saivite faith.) The alphabet of the plates is archaic Telugu and the language Sanskrit. The grant was made not from Dantapura but from the victorious Kalinganagara. (The king calls himself the devotee of the holy feet of God Gōkarnēśvara seated on the Mahēndra hill in the Ganjam District.) The date of the inscription is 51 G. E. (*Gāṅgēyavamsa pravardhamāna Vijayarāja Samvatsaram ekapanchāśat*), and not 251 G. E. as stated wrongly by Dr. Fleet. On paleographical and synchronistic grounds, the learned scholar identified this king with his namesake successor who ruled in 254 G. E. But, since this king's grant was found along with others of very early date and since the date of the grant is given clearly in words and since the alphabet of the grant is archaic Telugu of about the middle of the 6th century A. D. it is not correct to identify the Donor of this grant with his namesake successor who lived two centuries after him.

This king, who is illustrious in the spotless family of the Gangas and who bears the title of Mahārāja, (assembles the cultivators of the village of Tāmaracheruvu in the District of Varāhavartani (Modern Chicacole Taluk in the Ganjam District) and intimates to them the gift of that very same village, on the occasion of solar eclipse, to 300 Brahmins of Vājasaneya *charana* and to God Gōkarnabhāṭṭāraka of Mahendra hill. From the facts that the seal of the grant contains a crescent and a bull, and the king is styled a *Parama Mahēśvara* and that the grant was made to Śiva under the name of Gōkarṇa of Mahendra hill, we learn that by the 6th century A. D. Śaivite form of Brahmanical Hinduism was firmly established and several temples for Śiva were constructed. The gift of a whole village was collectively made to 300 Brahmins who must have been connected with the worship of God Śiva.) It is but fitting that such a lofty peak in the Eastern Ghats was chosen for the erection of the temple for the family deity, Śiva—Gōkarṇaswāmi,¹² of the Eastern

11. Ind. Ant. Vol. X pp. 348-344; and Vol. XIII pp. 273-276.

12. There is a Gōkarnakshētra on the Konkan coast just as there is a similar one on the Kalinga coast. The God on Mahēndra Hill is called Gōkarna Eśvara. The God Madhukēśvara of Kalinganagara is also termed Jayantēśvara or Gokarnēśvara in some of the inscriptions found there. The *Kshētra mahātmyam* mentions that Madhukalingam or Mukhalingam (Kalinganagara) is called from time to time under different names such as Gōvindakānanam, Jayantapuram, Madhukēśvaram and Mukhalingam. The term, 'Gokarnē-Madhukēśvarayū' found in the inscriptions in Mukhalingam temple is significant.

Gāṅga Kings. The grant was written by Nāgaraja *Sri Sāmanta* (the illustrious vassal) and engraved by Sarvadēva, *Akṣhaśāli* (the engraver of letters).

4. *Devēndravarma's son, Satyavarmadēva. G.E. 51 = A.D. 545.*

A Copper-Plate grant of his, as already stated, was discovered in *Chicacole* along with others and published¹³ by Dr. Fleet. (The seal of the plates has on its surface in relief a bull couchant to the right with the moon above it and an elephant goad behind it and a floral device below it.) The characters are of S.I. Nāgari type, mixed also with *grantha* and other early alphabets. The language is Sanskrit and the style resembles that of Devēndravarma's grant. (The grant was made from the victorious Kalinganagara by the king who was devoted to God Gōkarnaswāmin of Mahēndra hill, who acquired supremacy by the edge of his sword over the whole of Kalinga and who was a Parama Mahēśvara) (The order, which was made to the *Kuṭumbis* or families of cultivators of the village of Tāru in the district of Galelai, states that the same village was granted on the occasion of solar eclipse, free of all taxes for the religious merit of himself and his parents as an *agrahāra* to the village God and given to Kamalāsana Bhāṭṭaraka in the 51st year of Gāṅgēya era, for the conduct of the worship of the God. It was thus a gift to the Brahman for the conduct of the worship of Śiva,—the tutelary village God. This grant clearly shows that in all the villages also the worship of Śiva was firmly established and the State made statutory and permanent land provision for the conduct of such worship.)

This grant is important in showing that while Indravarma I was only called the Lord of Tri-Kalinga, Satyavarma was called the Lord of All-Kalinga. Probably, there were five or even seven Kalingas at that time, including the islands in the seas. In Pliny's time, some of the

The family God of the Kadambas of Hangal was Jayanti-Madhukēśvara or Madhukēśvara of Jayantipura or Banavasi. The C.P. grants of Anantavarma Chodagaṅga mention that Kāmārṇava II son of Dānārṇava of the E. Gaṅga dynasty built a temple for God Madhukēśvara in Kalinganagara. But the C. P grants of the Early Gaṅga Kings mention Gōkarnēśvara as the family deity and not Madhukēśvara. Probably the Later kings worshipped Gōkarnēśvara under the new name at the instance of the E. Kadambas, their vassals and relatives. Just as the W. Kadambas of Banavasi or Vaijayantipura ruled under the control of the W. Gaṅgas to whom they were related, the E. Kadambas of Jayantipura in Mahēndra Bhōga Vishaya also ruled subject to the control of the E. Gaṅgas to whom also they were related by marriage ties. Madhukēśvara abiding in Jayantipura or Nagara or Gōkarna, represented Gōkarnēśvara seated on Mahēndra Hill. The place also came to be called Madhukalinga or Mukhalinga Nagara, Jayantipura and Gōkarna.

13. Ind. Ant. Vol. X p. 249; Ibid Vol. XIII, p. 274; Ibid Vol. XIV pp. 10-12. Also Sewel's List of Insers. No. 159.

Kalinga tribes occupied the islands at the mouth of the River Ganges and in the 6th century, they probably occupied the East Indies and paid homage to the Mahārajas of Kalinganagara. The Tamil work *Kalingāthuparaṇi* expressly states that Rājendrachola II sent an expedition at the close of the 11th century against the Lord of Seven Kalingas.

Since the date of this king's grant is stated in words to be G.E. 51, '*Gāṅgeya vamsa samvatsara śatānam e'capimchāśat*,' Dr. Fleet's theory that it should be read as 351 G. E. cannot be accepted especially in view of the fact that the inscription contains several grantha and prakrit words of archaic type.

5. *Hastivarma, G. E. 80 = A. D. 574.*

This king's C. P. inscription dated 80 G. E. was discovered at Urlam in the Ganjam district and published in Telugu.¹⁴ Later on, Dr. Hultzsch edited it in English.¹⁵ The alphabet of the inscription is old Tel-Kannaḍa and the language Sanskrit. It is in prose with the usual Vyāsa ślōkas at the end.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land at the village of Hōṇḍēvāka in 'Krośhuka-*Vartani* (district) as an *agrahāra* to Jayaśarma of Urlam. It was purchased by the king from the owners of the village and made into an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes.

The grant was made in the year 80 of G. E., on Kārtika Krishnāshṭami day. It was written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānu-chandra who received the order from the mouth of *Rājasimha* Hastivarma who is also styled *Raṇābhīta*. The titles, *Rājasimha* (Lion of kings), *Raṇābhīta* (Fearless in battles), and *Gaṅgāmūlakula pratishṭhā* (Establisher of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas) enjoyed by this king clearly reveal the fact that by G. E. 80 or A. D. 574, this dynasty held complete sway over the whole of the Kalinga country. The language, spoken and written, was Telugu. The people, Kalingas as well as Andhras, spoke and wrote in the same language. The capital continued to be at Kalinganagara only. The king who is a devout worshipper of Śiva states some very interesting facts viz., the purchasing of a piece of land from the owners of the village and constituting it into a tax free *agrahāra* for the benefit of a learned Brahman. (What is still more interesting is the practice of summoning all the cultivators and heads of families and sometimes royal officials and ministers with a view to acquaint them with the nature of the royal donations so that they might be continued, free of taxes and all kinds of obstacles, in the enjoyment of the Donees.) In this case, as in other cases generally, the gift was made for the merit of the king and his parents.

14. *Andhrapatrika Samvatsaradi Samchika* for 1920, pp. 217-224.

15. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, pp. 330-334.

Dr. Hultsch very rightly identifies Kalinganagara with Mukhalingam and Krōshṭukavartani with Chicacole. The village of Urāmalla is the modern Urlam village in the Ganjam district. Hoṇḍēvāka is in Chicacole Taluq, Ganjam district.

6. *Indravarma II. G. E. 87 and 91 = A. D. 581 and 585.*

Hastivarma was succeeded by Indravarma. Both these kings had the same titles *Rājasimha*, *Gāṇḍjānṛlakula pratishṭha* and *Sakala Kalingāhīrājā* suggesting that they might be brothers. So far, three C. P. grants of this king have been published viz., the *Achyutāpuram* Plates of 87 G. E. 16, the *Santabommāli* Plates of 87 G. E. 17 and the *Parlakimidi* Plates of 91 G. E. 18. All these three Copper-Plates were written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, the same scribe who engraved the letters of the Tirlingi Plate dated 28th year. (The characters in all the three Plates are of old Telugu type and the language is Sanskrit. The characters of these Plates resemble closely those of the Timmapuram Plates of the Eastern Chalukyan king Kubja Vishnuvardhana who ruled over Vēngi and S. Kalinga from A. D. 615 to 633.) The *Achyutapuram* Plates dated 87 G. E. state that, from the victorious Kalinganagara, Mahārāja Indravarma II alias Rājasimha whose sins were washed off by worshipping the holy feet of God Gōkarnēśwara, who was the establisher of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who acquired sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga, and who was the devout worshipper of Śiva, informed the assembled cultivators of Siddhārthaka village in the district of Varāhavartani that a plough-share of a field near the king's tank in that village was given tax free to a Brahman named Durgasarma of Gautama Gotra at the time of Uttarāyana on the occasion of the consecration of a tank in honour of the king's mother and for the merit of the king and his parents.)

The village of Siddhārthaka is the same as the Siddhāntam village on the south bank of the River Vamsadhāra. Very close to it is situated, on the opposite bank, the royal capital of Kalinganagara represented by the modern villages of Mukhalingam and Nagarikitakam. The mention of a king's tank in Siddhāntam and the consecration of a new tank there in honour of the king's mother would suggest the nearness of the Royal capital to the place. The donee of this grant is mentioned as Durgasarma of Gautama Gotra. (Now, we learn from the Chipurupalli C. P. grant¹⁹ of the Eastern Chalukyan king Vishnuvardhana, dated in his 18th regnal year which corresponds to A. D. 632, that that king granted, from his royal camp at Cherupūra in Plaki or Praki district (Modern Chipurapalli near

16. EP. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 127-130.

17. J.A.H.R.S, Vol. IV, pp. 21-24.

18. Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI pp. 131-134.

19. Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, p. 15.

Vizianagaram), the village of Kalvakoṇḍa in Dimili district (Modern Elamanchili Division) to two learned Brahmins Vishnuśarma and Mādhavaśarma, the sons of Durgāśarma who belonged to Gautama *Gotra*. The characters of the Plates belong to the southern class of alphabets and are of the same type as those of the Plates of the period extending from the time of the Gaṅga king Indravarma II (A.D. 581, 585) to that of his grandson Indra III (A.D. 622-648.). The royal camp at Cherupūra and the grant of Kalvakoṇḍa would show that by A.D. 632 the southern part of Kalinga (Modern Visagapatam and East Godāvāri districts) passed out of the hands of the E. Gaṅgas into those of the E. Chalukyas. The grant of a village in S. Kalinga by Chālukya Vishnuvardhana to the two sons of Durgāśarma who obtained already a grant of a piece of land in Siddhāntam at the hands of the E. Gaṅga king Indravarma II about A.D. 581 would enable us to think that, in all probability Indravarma II's successor Dānārṇava, none of whose inscriptions have been discovered so far, was defeated by the Founder of the E. Chalukyan Empire about A.D. 620 and the River Nāgāvali was made the boundary between the two Empires.)

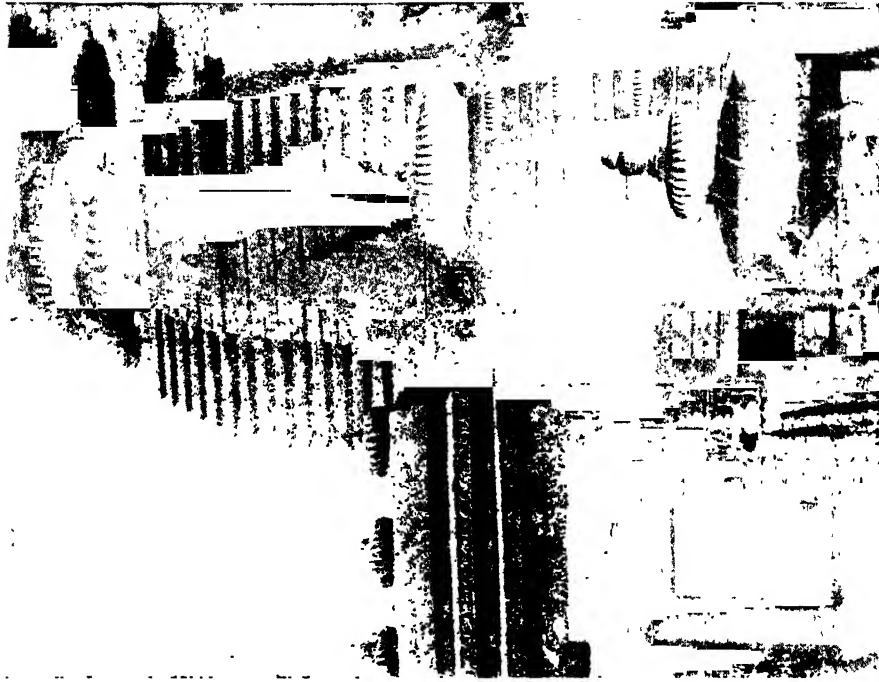
The ~~Santabommāli~~ Plates of this king dated also in G.E. 87 after giving the usual titles of the king, (relate the grant of two plough shares of land in the village of Haribhaṭa in the district of Krōshṭuka to be enjoyed as Dēvāgrahāra for God Rāmēśwara Baṭṭāraka Swāmi for offerings, festivities and repairs of the temple.) The grant was made to Talavaridēva *Bhogika* free from all taxes.

The Parlakimidi Plates of this king dated in the G.E. 91 mention the same royal titles found in the previous Plates and record the following command to the assembled cultivators of the village of Kettaṭa in the district of Dēvanna panchāli: "Being instructed by Koṇḍa Vallika I constitute this village as an *agrahāra* for the merit of myself and my parents," and grant it free from taxes to Dhruvaśarma of Garga *Gotra* who belongs to Kalinganagara and who is a religious student of Chamdhōga School."

(It would appear from the Pulomburu Plates²⁰ of the Vishnukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarma III that that king attempted to recapture the Pṛāki or Prāki Province in the Visagapatam district from the hands of the E. Gaṅga kings who then ruled over it. The two kings Hastivarma and Indravarma II enjoyed possession of the South Kalinga Country which was already conquered by E. Ganga Indravarma I from the hands of the Vishnukuṇḍin king Indrabhaṭṭāraka who previously ruled over it. Therefore, Mādhavavarma III made attempts about A.D. 600 to reconquer that country and it was after crossing the River Godāvāri with a view to make conquests in the N.E. Region that he made the gift of the Pulomburu village to the Brahmins. The



The Sōmēśvara Temple in Mukhalingam.



The Aniyanka Bhīmēśvara Temple in Mukhalingam.

result of the mission is not known but the probability is that he conquered the country though he could not keep it long owing to the W. Chalukya invasion and conquest of the region. The Aihole inscription²¹ of Pulikesin II clearly states that Kalinga was conquered and its southern capital Pittapur seized about 610 A. D. Thus, the Praki and the Dimili districts of S. Kalinga passed into the hands of the E. Chalukyas. This probably took place in the reign of Indra II's son.

While editing these plates, Dr. Fleet identified Kalinganagara with the modern Kalingapatnam at the mouth of the Vamsadhara river but, as already stated, this identification cannot stand. His conclusion that Indra of G.E. 91 is probably the grand-father of Indra of G.E. 128 and 146 (138) is more than proved by the internal evidences supplied by their own inscriptions. His statements that the dates of the inscriptions belong to the Gaṅgēya era, *though the epoch of the era still remains to be determined*, and that Indra of 91 G. E. may possibly be connected with the history of Indrabhaṭṭāraka (of Eastern Chalukya Line) are interesting, revisions of his previous opinions, stated while publishing the Chicacole grants of Indra of G. E. 128 and 146 (138).

7. *Dānārṇava's son, Indravarma III.*

G. E. 128, 137, 138 and 154 = A. D. 622, 631, 632 and 648.

The history of this king is known to us from four C. P. Grants, viz., The Chicacole Plates, two sets²² dated 128 G. E. and 138 G. E.; the Purle Plates²³ dated 137 G. E. and the Tekkali Plates²⁴ dated 154 G. E. Though there is much in common, with regard to the style and the characters, between the grants of Indra II dated G. E. 87 and 91 and those of king Indra III, it must not be supposed, as some scholars have suggested, that both the kings are identical because, firstly, there is an interval of 37 years between the two reigns; secondly, there is this difference in the names of the scribes that while the three grants of Indra II were written by Virayachandra, those of Indra III were written by his son Aditya, and his son Khaṇḍi thus proving the lapse of a generation of kings also; thirdly, the title of *Rājasimha*, used in all the three grants of Indra II, is not used in those of Indra III; fourthly, the name of Indra III's father is mentioned as Dānārṇava while that of Indra II's father is not at all given in any of his Plates. Considering all these circumstances, it is better to treat Indra III as the grandson of Indra II as rightly pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

21. Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 245.

22. Ind. Ant. Vol. X pp. 249-244 and Vol. XIII pp. 119-124.

23. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV pp. 361-362; Sarada Vol. I, pp. 528-532.

24. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII pp. 307-318.

The Chicacole Plates dated G. E. 128, while giving the usual particulars, state that Mahārāja Indravarma issued from Kalinganagara the grant of the village of Tāmaracheruvu with its hamlets in the district of Varāhavartani free from all taxes to some Brahmins, on the occasion of lunar eclipse, for the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself.

While editing these Plates, Dr. Fleet made the following observations:—

(1) The years are probably those of the Gāṅgēya Era which is mentioned in some grants of the Gaṅga family.

(2) It is possible that Indra of G. E. 128 is identical with the Adhirāja Indra, mentioned in Prthvimūla's Gōdāvari Plates as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing Indrabhattāraka who must be the E. Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha (Ś. 549-582) and father of Vishnuvardhana II (Ś. 582-591).

(3) This is the period to which the grants of Indra II and Indra III also might be allotted on palaeographical and astronomical grounds and the exact date of the grant determined.

(4) The interval of 55 years between the Parlakimidi Plates dated G. E. 91 and the Chicacole Plates dated G. E. 146 (really 138) tenders it doubtful whether the Indra of the former plates is the same as the Indra of the latter plates, especially when the former alone has the title *Rājasimha*.

The first and the fourth observations are quite acceptable. The third needs modification in this way that the grants of Indra III alone may be allotted to the period Ś. 549—Ś. 591.

Regarding the second observation, it is not possible to agree with Dr. Fleet and identify Indra of G. E. 128 with Adhirāja Indra mentioned in Prthvimūla's Gōdāvari Plates because the father of the former is named Dānārṇava while that of the latter Mitavarma. Moreover we know that the capital of the former is named Kalinganagara while that of the latter Manalkuḍi. But, apart from these considerations, it may be conceded that the regnal period of Indra III viz, G.E. 128-154, roughly corresponds with that of Jayasimha I and his successor viz, Ś. 549-591 or in other words, the Ganga Era started about the close of the fifth century A.D.

The grant of G.E. 128 was composed by *Amātya* Dēvachandra's son *Rahafika* Śankaradēva and engraved by Vinayachandra's son, *Aditya Manchi*.*

The Plates of G. E. 146 do really belong to G. E. 138 and this was recently pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.²⁵ They are also written in

old Tel-Kannada letters. The grant was made on *Rothasaptami*, the 8th day in the month of *Māgha*. In addition to the usual titles, the king has two special ones, viz, "he, who has attained the proficiency of a holy teacher by the purity of all the numerous sciences and accomplishments that have been well-mastered by him" and "he, who is the full autumn moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gāṅgas". Such a king intimates to all the assembled cultivators of the village of Tālamūla in the Krōṣṭuka *pañchali* that he constituted that village into an *agrahāra* free from all taxes and bestowed it on two Brahmins who were the residents of Avarenga and Kalinganagara. The executor of the grant is named *Mahāmahattara* Gauriśarma, the writer Bhavadatta, son of *Amātya* Ahkakaḍe and the engraver *akṣhaśāli* Bhōgika.

The Purli Plates of this king dated G. E. 137 were discovered in the village of Purli on the south bank of the River Nāgāvali. (The seal of the Plates contains the figure of a bull couchant to the right. The grant was made from the victorious Dantapura by the king who calls himself the son of Dānārgava. Mahārāja Indravarmā III ordered the families of cultivators in the village of Bhukkukura in Kūraka *Rashtra* (province) to assemble and to note his grant of a piece of land which was made, for the merit of himself and his parents, on the full moon day in the month of *Kārtika* in G.E. 137²⁶ to the Brahman Bhavadattaśarma who was well versed in *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*) and who was a native of Tirlingi. While reviewing the date of this grant, Dr. L. D. Swamikanannu Pillai stated²⁷ that the details of date and time given in the inscription are not sufficient to fix the regnal period of the king in terms of any known Era.

The executor of the grant is *Mahāmahattara* Śivaśarma, while the composer is *Sarvādhikāri* Sāmbapurōpādhyāya, the son of *Hastya-dhyakṣa* Dharmachandra. The royal offices *Mahāmahattara*, *Sarvādhikāri* and *Hastya-dhyakṣa* correspond to "the great village elder", "the general-in-chief", and "the president of the elephant forces" respectively. Similarly, if we examine the official titles of the times, we get several interesting types showing that, in the general administration, the king was helped by officers of different grades. Thus, the C. P. grant of Mahārāja Indravarmā I of G.E. 39 was written by *Sandhi vighraṭka* Dīvaśāṅgadīva. The term *Sandhivighraṭka* corresponds to Secretary for peace and war or Foreign Secretary.

26. Mr. G. Ramados who edited this C. P. grant has read the year of the grant as 149 but it is really 137 as pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.

27. *Ann. Rep. on S.I. Ep. for 1913-1914*, p. 71.

(The official title of the writer of the C. P. grant of Anantavarma's son, Dēvēndravarma is *Sri Sāmanta* which means "the illustrious vassal," while that of the engraver is *akshasāli* which means "engraver of letters". The order of Indra II of 87 G.E. was published orally through Talavara-dēva *Bhogika*. This term is identified by some scholars with *Boyi*, a village servant. I think it corresponds to a Land Revenue Collector. The C.P. grant of Indra III of 128 G.E. was composed by *Rahasika* Saṅkaradēva, the son of *Amātya* Dēvachandra and engraved by Āditya *Mañchi*, son of Vinayachandra. *Rahasika* would mean Private Secretary or One in charge of private or secret affairs of State. *Amātya* is Minister.

The executor of the C P. grants of Indra III dated 138 and 154 G.E. was *Mahāmahattara* (the great village elder) Gaurisarma and their writer was Bhavadatta, son of *Amātya* (Minister) Ahkakade and engraver *Akshasālika Bhogika* (Revenue Collector)

The Tekkali plates of this king, dated in G. E. 154, also state his father's name to be Dānārṇava. The seal of the Plates contains a standing bull facing left. The alphabet resembles that of the Urlam Plates of Hastivarma. A few Dravidian words like *amba*, *achchi-poti* are also found. While editing this grant Dr. Hultzsch corrected several wrong readings of dates made by Dr. Fleet and stated very rightly that the names of the writers and the engravers confirm the correctness of the dates of their royal masters. The donor, Dānārṇava's son Indra III issued this grant from his royal residence at Kalinganagara for the spiritual merit of his mother Achchipoti to Skandavarma, a Vedic scholar and a native of Gārakhona. It was made at an eclipse of Sun in 154 G.E. It consisted of a field in the village of Tunganna in the district of Rūpyavati (Tekkali Taluq). As usual, the king claims to have obtained sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga.

We learn from this inscription that there was a measure called *Brahmādēyam* in which the fields were then measured. The practice of granting one or two plough-shares of land is also interesting. The royal command that the land granted shall be cultivated by water running through two channels called Kārakhaṇḍi and Brāhmanapālani from the Tunganna tank shows what irrigation facilities were provided in ancient times.

All the villages and lands granted by this king are found in the modern Chicacole, Tekkali and Parlakimidi Taluqs showing that they were directly under the control of the king and in the heart of the kingdom. All the donees were Brahmans well versed in Vēdas, Vēdaṅgas and Śāstras. The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit while the characters are Telugu, Kannada, Grantha and Dravidian. There is no doubt about the fact that the Andhras and the Kālingas who lived, then as now, along

the East coast and in the Ganjam district used the Telugu-Kannada scripts. Since the grants were made from both Dantapura and Kalinganagara, both were probably used as royal residences. It shows—and Yuan-chwang confirms this view—that Dantapura, the city of Buddha's tooth relic, was still in a flourishing condition then. It is not known when and how the city met with the unfortunate ruin in which it is still found.

It would seem that, during the reign of this king, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan-Chwang visited Kalinga.²⁸ After leaving China in A. D. 629, he visited India and toured throughout the continent for 15 years learning Buddhist principles of life and collecting works on the same. After leaving Karnasuvarna he travelled south-west above 700 *li* or 140 miles and reached Uṭu or Uḍra (Orissa) country. It was 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital about 20 *li*. (Its people differed in speech and manners from those of Mid-India. Many of them were Buddhists. There were 100 Buddhist monasteries and 50 *Dēva* temples. Near the sea shore, in the south-east of the country, there was a town called Charitrapura, about 20 *li* in circuit, which was the resting place for sea-going traders. From this place could be seen according to the pilgrim's account, the light from the pearl on the top of the Buddhist Stupa in Ceylon. This town is identified by several scholars with Puri (Jagannāth).)

From Uḍra, the pilgrim travelled south-west through a forest for over 1200 *li* and reached Kungyūto or Kongoḍu country, which was 1000 *li* in circuit. Its capital was 20 *li* in circuit. It is described as a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. I think it corresponds to the modern Puri and N. Ganjam districts wherein the inscriptions of Kara kings have been found mentioning the term²⁹ Kongōḍu Maṇḍala for the whole region. (The people were tall, brave, black and honest. Their written language was stated to be the same as that of Mid-India but their speech was different. They were not Buddhists. There were more than 100 *Dēva* temples and 10,000 Tirthikas. There was a powerful army in the country which kept the neighbouring countries in awe. The country was noted for wild elephants.) It is doubtful whether, on account of this military power of the Kara Line of kings that ruled there, the country was then subject to the control of the E. Gaṅga Line, though the title of Tri-Kalingādhipati borne by Indra I would suggest that, in early times, he ruled over it. The Ganjam Plates³⁰ mention that in A. D. 619 the country was subject to the rule of Śaśānka Mahārājādhirājah. The Chinese pilgrim's *Life* tells us that about A. D. 643, i.e., six years after the death of Śaśānka, the country was conquered by Silāditya Harsha who conferred the revenues of 80 large towns in it on a Buddhist monk named Jayasena.

28. B. Watter's *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol II, pp. 193-199.

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 190.

30. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 130-143.

The *Mādakā panji* account states that a king of the Keśari Line by name Lalitendu Keśari ruled over the country from A. D. 617 to 676 but it is doubtful whether this account is trust-worthy.

From Kung-yū-to (Kongōdu), the pilgrim travelled south-west for 300 miles and reached (Kalinga which was above 5000 *li* in circuit. Its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country was filled for hundreds of miles with great forests which abounded in dark wild elephants. The people were rude and obstinate but were noted for good faith and fairness. Their speech was fast and clear, differing somewhat from that of Mid-India. There were only 10 Buddhist monasteries filled with 500 monks of the Mahāyāna School, while there were more than 100 Dēva temples, thus showing that Brahmanical Hinduism flourished at the expense of its rival, Buddhism.) The pilgrim states that the country, once thickly populated, became thin on account of the curse of a holy Rishi. But the real reason for the scanty population seems to be the frequent wars that were fought between the rival dynasties for possession of Kalinga. It will be interesting in this connection to note that Kalinga which was once united and strong under the Andhra kings in the third century A. D. became divided into 4 or 5 small principalities at the time of Samudragupta's invasion, about the middle of the fifth century A. D. The Chinese pilgrim's account only confirms this fact because at the time of his visit, about 638-639 A.D., Kalinga was split up into several countries like Udra, Kosala, Kongyūto and Kalinga. This disintegration of the once powerful Kalinga Empire led to internal feuds and external wars. The inscriptions of the Gupta, Vākataka, Vishnukundin, E. Chalukya and E. Gaṅga kings clearly reveal this fact. Hence the pilgrim's statement that Kalinga was thinly populated should be believed, though the cause of it should be ascribed to wars and not to curse. It might be a fact that Kalinga was treated in early times as a polluted ground for Aryans to dwell in and hence the E. Ganga and Kesari-kara kings of Kalinga and Kongōdu respectively encouraged, by means of liberal land gifts to Vedic Brahmins and Śaivite temples, the introduction of Aryan culture and faith. The pilgrim's statement that Dēva temples and Hindu faith flourished in these countries, at the expense of Buddhist monasteries and faith, is again in proof of it.

The pilgrim does not mention anything about the government of the country or the location of the capital, though he states that "near the south wall of the capital there was an Aśoka tree beside which were a sitting place and exercise ground of the Four Past Buddhas." Cunningham identified the capital with Rājamahēndravaram on the River Godāvari, while Fergusson stated that it was not very far from the modern Kalinganagar. We have now learnt from the several C. P. grants of the E. Ganga king Indravarman III who at this time ruled over it, that

Dantapura (modern ruins of the fort of the same name) and Kalinga-nagara (modern Nagara-Kaṭaka and Mukhalingam villages) were both the capital cities of the Empire, the latter being the chief capital.

(From Dandi's *Daśakumāra charitā*,³¹ we learn that the then king of Kalinga was called Kardana and that while in autumn he was enjoying sports in a garden near the sea-shore with his royal house-hold he was taken prisoner by the Andhra king called Jayasimha who invaded by way of the sea and removed them to his capital Andhranagari. The Andhra king resolved to kill his rival but falling in love with his daughter Kanakalēkha desisted from the deed. Then, the Kalinga king's general by name Mahābhāga disguised himself and approaching the Andhra king killed him and then set free both the Kalinga king and his daughter. The Andhra kingdom also was soon conquered and added on to the Kalinga Empire. 7

From this brief account which, I think, contains a good historical tradition imbedded in it, we learn that there was rivalry between the Andhra and the Kaling kings and that they were frequently attacking each other's dominions. As already stated, South Kalinga formed the bone of contention. It is interesting to note that the Andhra king invaded Kalinga *by way of the sea* and landed probably near the sea-port of Kalingapattanam. (South Kalinga which was first conquered by Pulikesin II about A. D. 610 continued to be ruled by Vishnuvardhana I (A. D. 615--633) and his eldest son Jayasimha I (A. D. 633--666) and this is attested by the fact that both the villages of Kalavakonda and Dimila mentioned in the C. P. grants of the former king are found close to Elamanchili, the capital of South Kalinga, while the town of Sarvasiddhi, named after the latter king's title and situated also close to Elamanchili enjoyed great reputation. The village of Dimila or Divela is close to the sea and probably from this place, the Chalukyan fleet invaded Kalinga. It may be recalled here how the uncle of Vishnuvardhana I by name Mangalēśa besieged and took the island of Revati on the west coast with the help of his fleet. The E. Chalukyas like the E. Gaṅgas were noted for their naval strength also. 7

The E. Gaṅga king Indravarma III who is credited with the final triumph is believed by some scholars, to have vanquished the E. Chalukya Indrabhaṭṭāraka who ruled only for a week after Jayasimha's death in 666 A. D. Since the C. P. grants of Gaṅga Indra III are found till A. D. 648, and since those of the next king are dated about A. D. 677, according to our chronological system, there is nothing standing in the way of our accepting the view noted above. This will not also come into conflict with our own view stated already that Gaṅga Indra I

31. Andhra Daśakumaracharitam, chapter 7, pp. 110-118.

of A. D. 533 was the contemporary of Vishnukundin Indrabhattāraka of the same time. Our contention that Gaṅga Indra III cannot be identified with Adhirāj Indra of the Gōdavāri Plates of Prithvimūla, for the reasons stated already, holds good.

*8. *Guṇārṇava's son, Devēndravarma II.*

G.E. 183, 184 and 195 = A.D. 677, 678 and 689.

Three C. P. grants of this king have been discovered of which one, dated G.E. 183, was published³² by Dr. Hultzs. It was also one of the six sets discovered at Chicacole. Its Seal contains the figures of bull and crescent. Its characters are Nagari and language Sanscrit. It was also issued from the victorious Kalinganagara. The Donor has the usual titles. The order was made to the families in the village of Poppaṅgika in Krōshtuka *vartani* stating that the village was made into an *agrahāra* and granted free of all taxes to six Brahmins of Kalinganagara learned in Vēdas, at the time of *Uttarāyana*, on *Rathasaptami* day-in the month of *Māgha*.

The village of Kurudumbi mentioned as one of the boundaries is identified by some scholars with the modern village of Gurundi in Parlakimidi Taluk. The grant was written by Pallavachandra, son of Matru-chandra of Apūrvaṇaṭa Line, in the presence of *Mahattara* Savara Nandi-śarma. It was engraved by Sarvachandra, son of Khaṇḍichandra *Bhōyika*.

Dr. Hultzs. who edited this grant stated that neither of the two dates noted in the grant viz, writing it in the month of *Māgha* and granting it actually in *Śrāvana*, contains any elements admitting of verification and helping us to fix the initial point of the Gaṅga Era.

Another grant of this king has recently been published³³ by Mr. Satyanarayana *Rajaguru* of Parlakimidi. The alphabet of this grant is old Dēvanāgarī like that of the Achyutapuram Plates of Indra II. (Its seal also contains the figures of bull, conch, and crescent.) The plates were discovered in a field near the temple of Dharmalingēśvara near the village of Adava in Parlakimidi Taluq. Probably the village of Haduva granted is the modern village of Adava. Haduva is said to be in the Pushpagiri pāṇchali *viśaya* and it was given away as an *agrahāra* to the Divine Patanga Śivācharya, the royal teacher, at the time of *Mantradīkshu* as *Gurupāja* (offerings to the teacher). (He was learned in Vēdas, Vēdaṅgas, History and Purāṇas.)

The writer and the engraver of the two C. P. grants mentioned above are both one and the same.

32. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 130—134.

33. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pp. 275—276.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS.*

(1759—1786)

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Chapter I.

Acquisition of the Northern Sarkars.

" Cette alliance a debute par fournir aux princes indigenes des secours militaires; elle a continue par former a la discipline europeenne leurs contingents indigenes qui assisteront aux Anglais; puis par demander, au lieu de secours en hommes des secours en argent; puis par faire assigner des terres comme garantie des sommes promises. Proprietaires ou possesseurs de ces terres, il a fallu des lors les defendre. De la toute l'evolution de la politique britannique."

Annales des sciences politiques. (1899)

The first settlement of the East India Company in India was established in the Northern Sarkars after their ship the "Globe" touched at Masulipatam in January 1611. By the gradual acquisition of local privileges and wide concessions including the right to mint coins for purposes of indigenous circulation, the company systematically strengthened their hold on the Sarkars. During the XVIII century, they came into direct and deadly conflict with their sister company of the French nation which early secured a real supremacy in the councils of the court of Hyderabad. The political vision of Dupleix and the practical statesmanship of Bussy, which thoroughly transformed the complexion of Indian politics of the times, lead them to plunge at once into the whirlpool of fraternal quarrels which threw the Indian peninsula into great confusion after the death of Asaf Jah, better known as Nizam-ul Mulk.

A Thesis submitted to the London University for Ph. D.
Owing to the generosity of the late Malladv Satyalingam Naicker of Cocanada, the writer was able to carry out the very useful plan of investigating the records of the India office about the Revenue Administration of Northern Sarkars as a result of which the present thesis was written. A copy of the same is sent to us for publication and it will appear in Chapters. (Editor.)

1. For an account of the initial attempts of the Company to acquire privileges in the Sarkars, see the present writer's paper on the "British Beginnings in the Andhra Desa" in the *Triventi*, Madras, November, 1928 and January 1929. Also, an additional paper to this thesis.

in 1748.² After various sporadic attempts to obtain the grant of the Sarkars, Bussy procured their formal cession to the French nation by the Treaty of Aurangabad (23 November 1753) from Salabat Jang, the *de facto* subadar of the day.³

This treaty shattered the strong hopes which Governor Saunders had for the acquisition of the Sarkars on behalf of the East India Company.⁴ Early French successes Vijayaramarazu, generally known as the Great, the formidable raja of Vijayanagaram and the adjacent territories, had long cherished the desire to obtain them with the help of the English. But the superior military position of the French and the inability of the Madras Government to take any effective steps in this direction compelled him to acquiesce in Bussy's regime and manage the Chicacole Sarkar at a favourable rent, only awaiting an opportunity to subvert the newly established government and assert his independence of the court of Hyderabad.⁵

The supercession of Dupleix by Charles Godeheu as governor of Pondichery marked a temporary change in the policy of the French Company on the east coast and resulted in the provisional treaty of peace signed by him with Governor Saunders on 31 December 1754.⁶ According to this treaty, the French renounced all right of conquest to the Sarkars and agreed to maintain only a reduced settlement at Nizampatam, while the Company allowed them a strip of territory between that place and the river Gundlakamma to compensate them for the inferiority of their territories between Karikal and Devikota in the south. Both the Companies were to have factories at Masulipatam and the adjacent territories were

2. A vivid description of the fortunes of the *subadar* of the Dekhan during the period under review is given by William Hollingsbery in his *History of his late Highness Nizam Ali Khan*. Hollingsbery was employed in the British residency at Hyderabad during the years 1794—98.

3. Robert Orme supplies by far the clearest account of the attempts of the French to acquire the Sarkars. See his *History of Military Transactions in Indostan*, Vol. I. pp. 141—46; 153; 161; 329—35 and 372—74.

4. Saunders to Richard Bouchier, (Governor of Bombay), 24 September 1752. See *Diary and Consultation Book* (Military Department) for 1752, pp. 43—46. These diaries are printed by the Madras government.

5. Cons. 7 January 1754. *Diary and Consultation Book* (Mil. Dept.) for 1754, pp. 7—8; Madras to Stringer Laurence, 30 April, *Idem.* pp. 94—95, and Cons. 21 January, 25 March and 2 September, *Idem.* pp. 22—23, 76 and 196 respectively.

6. *Idem.* pp. 286—88 and 290—95. See also Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. 10. pp. 8—16. The dates adopted by me are those of the Diary which states them as 26 October, 31 December 1754 and 4 January 1755. Cambridge gives them wrongly as 11 October and 26 October, 1754 and 4 January 1755. See his *Account of the War in India*, pp. 71—76. Aitchison himself gives

to be equally divided between them. Likewise, the navigation of certain rivers in the Sarkars was regulated on the same basis of equality.

The most remarkable feature to be noted at this time is that Vijayaramaraju was consistently steadfast in the cause of the Company even to the extent of risking his vast family fortunes. But no support could be sent him by the Madras government.⁷ He kept up a constant correspondence with governor Saunders, professing his friendship and imploring his assistance.⁸ He wrote to Madras:⁹ "Though I am in friendship with the French in outward appearance and pay money according to the agreement, yet, with whomsoever I contracted and mentioned friendship at first, to him I think it a duty incumbent to be faithful". The tragic death of Vijayaramaraju the Great after the destruction of Bobbili,¹⁰ did not alter the situation. His nephew Ananda Gajapati Raju, whose succession was confirmed by Salabat Jang and recognised by Bussy himself, continued Vijayaramaraju's policy of friendship to the Company with remarkable shrewdness and ability. But the distressed position of the Madras Government both prevented them from assisting Anandaraju and cost them all their settlements in the Sarkars.¹¹ Vizagapatam itself surrendered to Bussy on 27 June 1757.¹² Dissatisfied with the want of effective response from the Madras government, Anandaraju opened direct correspondence with Col. Clive in Bengal

Fidelity and initiative of
• Vijayarama Raju the Great and of Ananda Gajapati.

7. See *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 8 January 1757 *Select Comm. Cons.* 7 February, Vol. 51, pp. 43—45; resolution of the Madras government thereon, p. 49 which directed Vizagapatam to foster the friendship between Vijayarama Razu and the Company while confessing their inability to assist him. See also *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 8 February. *Idem.* p. 58.

8. These letters are preserved in the Madras Record Office. See Nos. 205, 320 and 335 of *Country Correspondence* (Milit. Dept.) for 1756, pp. 48, 55—56, and 103—104 respectively. Some of this correspondence is published by the Madras government. See also *Madras to Vizagapatam* 8 February, quoted above.

9. *Vijayarama Razu to Madras*, received 23 February. *Country Correspondence*, (Milit. Dept.) No. 58 for 1757, pp. 27—28. See also *Madras to Ananda Gajapati*, 16 March, in reply thereto. *Idem* No. 84 p. 141. Vijayarama Razu had been assassinated meanwhile.

10. For a classic description of the Bobbili tragedy see Orme: *History*, Vol. II, pp. 253—60. Also, *Ananda Gajapati to Madras* received 1 May and 6 September, *Country Correspondence* Nos. 168 and 353 for 1757, pp. 74—75 and 168—69 respectively. The provisional chief of Vizagapatam, John Lewin Smith, referring to this "unfavourable circumstance" hoped for the steadfastness of Ananda Razu, See *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 10 March, *Cons* 31 March. *Idem.* pp. 208—09

See further, The Maharaja of Bobbili; *A revised Account of the Bobbili Zamindari*, pp. 37—77.

11. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 16 June 1757. *Select. Comm. Cons.* Vol. 51, pp. 514—15. Smith was succeeded by Percival in the Chiefship.

12. *Select. Comm. Cons.* 28 July, *Idem.* p. 654.

through the agency of Dr. John Bristow, the Company's agent at Cuttack. Naturally enough, Bussy viewed these movements with suspicion and applied pressure on Anandaraju. Alarmed at the neglect of the Company's affairs in the Sarkars, Anandaraju wrote finally to Madras that "in short, I meet with ruin in your friendship".¹⁴ Fortunately for him Bussy's sudden recall to Aurangabad gave the Razu an admirable opportunity of which he took advantage. Single-handed, he seized Vizagapatam from the French and hoisted the English flag on that factory.¹⁵

Ananda Razu's initiative was amply rewarded. With his characteristic political vision, Clive eagerly seized the opportunity.

His plans were further facilitated by the fact that Nizam Ali, the brother of Salabat Jang, implored his assistance to subvert the latter's Government and establish him as the subadar of the Dekhan.¹⁶ Faced as he was with the formidable task of putting the Company's affairs in Bengal on a satisfactory basis, he was willing to send military assistance to Ananda Razu and even contemplated leading the expedition in person.¹⁷ But on further consideration, he commissioned Lieut. Col. Francis Forde to undertake it, despatched troops into the Sarkars at a time when he could ill afford to deplete his military resources in Bengal, and wrote to Madras:¹⁸ "If

13. *Ananda Raju to Madras*, in *Select Comm. Cons* 4 February 1758. Vol. 52. p. 67. The letter can be read in *Country Correspondence* No. 37 for 1758. pp. 15-16.

The Bengal records are clearer on this point. They mention "a letter from Mr. John Bristow, Resident at Cuttak, under date the 14th ultimo, advising of his having received a scerpaw from the Gudgeputtee Rajah and letters inviting him to take possession of Ganjam and Vizagapatam for the Honble Company, and very pressing for Col. Clive to march that way in hopes to gain Masslapatam and in consequence of the above invitation he should set out for Vizagapatam in a few days" *Bengal Select Cons.* 4 July 1758. Vol. 2. p. 67.

14. *Ananda Raju to Madras*, received 17 May, No. 91 of *Country correspondence* for 1758, pp. 40-41; See also *Select Comm. Cons.* 4 February, Vol. 52. p. 67; and of 25 May, when this letter to the effect that Ananda Razu "has united all the Zamindars (or Rajahs) of the three French provinces who have resolved to free themselves from the dominion of the French" was considered, no assistance was offered. *Idem.* p. 193.

15. *Ananda Raju to Madras*, received 13 June 1758. See No. 110 of the *Country Correspondence* for 1758. pp. 47-48. See also *Select Comm. Cons.* 19 June Vol. 52. p. 249.

16. *Clive to Nizam Ali*, 27 July and 17 September 1758. *Clive to Ananda Raju*, 7 and 17 September, and *Nizam Ali to Clive*, 17 July 1759. See Malcolm, *Memoir of Robert, Lord Clive*, Vol. II. pp. 10 and 18. I was unable to locate the above letters in the Bengal records. See further *Bengal to Madras*, 25 August *Select Comm. Cons.* 5 October. Vol. 52 pp. 413-14.

17. See *Bengal Select Cons.* 4 July Vol. 2. pp. 67-68. See also *Clive to the Select Committee of the court of Directors*, 1 January 1759 in Malcolm, I. pp. 167-70. This letter is not found in the *Bengal Letters Received*.

18. *Bengal to Madras*, 14 September 1758. *Sel. Comm. Cons.* 18 October Vol. 52. pp. 416-17.

this expedition only threw the country into such confusion as to prevent our enemies from collecting any revenues, it will answer in a great measure the design and the expense". Madras appointed John Andrews to the chiefship of Vizagapatam and directed him to co-operate with Ananda Razu and Lieut. Col. Forde with a view to bring the expedition to a successful close.¹⁹

Andrew's first task was to draw up an agreement between Ananda Razu and the Company. This agreement, which was signed on 21 November 1758, stipulated:²⁰ "that all plunder should be equally divided; that all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah who was to collect the revenue; but that the sea ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the Company with the revenues of the districts annexed thereto; that no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah's or of the English possessions should be made without the consent of both parties; that the Rajah should supply fifty thousand rupees a month for the expenses of the army and six thousand to commence from their arrival at Vizagapatam for the particular expenses of the officers." From this agreement it is evident that the responsibility for the acquisition and administration of the Sarkars rested on the shoulders of Ananda Razu. On this point, the Bengal government, which was responsible for the expedition, resolved²¹ that "by the tenor of Mr. Andrew's letter it appears as if he entertained thoughts of taking possession of large territories in the Company's name which we judge contrary to the Company's interests on many accounts". In this respect, they were only auxiliaries to Ananda Razu.

The combined forces of Ananda Razu and Lieut. Col. Forde, who had recently arrived at Vizagapatam with the Bengal detachment, marched south and on 7 December 1756 defeated the French forces under the Marquis de Conflans at the battle of Kondur or Chandurti in the present East

19. *Public Consultations*. 9 and 14 October, Vol. 16. pp. 322—23 and 328 respectively. See also *Madras to Ananda Raju*, 16 October, in No. 204 of *Country correspondence* for 1758. pp. 93—94.

20. *Andrews to Madras*, Vizagapatam, 14 December 1758. *Letters to Fort St. George*, Vol. 98, pp. 127—29. This is one of the series of the Madras Record Office. I quote the letter from Col. Forde. *Lord Clive's Right Hand Man*, pp. 190—91. See also *Bengal Select Cons.* 15 January, wherein this treaty communicated by Andrews is copied. Vol. 2. (Broken set), Cambridge is meagre and obscure about this treaty See his *Account* p. 20. See also Orme. *History* II. 376.

21. *Bengal Select Cons.* 15 January 1759, Vol. 2. (Broken set.)

Godavari District.²² Ananda Razu had not the broad vision necessary to follow the advantages of victory to their logical conclusion. His lukewarm behaviour retarded the progress of the Company's arms. His financial position was insecure, and the Bengal government determined to bear the expenses of the expedition in case Ananda Razu was unable or unwilling to subsidise the Company.²³ Meanwhile Salabat Jang directed all the zamindars in the Sarkars not to pay revenues to or obey the English Company or Ananda Razu.²⁴ Ananda Razu quitted Lieut Col. Forde to suppress the rebellion raised in his territory by the schemes of Salabat Jang. Forde was greatly in need of money and his troops mutinied. The Madras government could not afford any assistance, financial or military.²⁵ They even urged Forde to induce Ananda Razu to submit to Salabat Jang in which case the latter might be willing to grant the Sarkars to the Company.²⁶ But the indomitable Forde was unwilling to make such a dishonourable compromise. At his instance, Andrews signed a fresh agreement with Ananda Razu²⁷ according to which the Company agreed "that whatsoever sums the Rajah might furnish should be considered as a loan, and that the revenues of all the countries that might be reduced on either side of the Godavari, excepting such as belonged to the French either by establishment or grant in property should be equally divided between him and the English." The material change of position according to this treaty is that the English were entitled to half of the territories south of the Godavari belonging to the French when they were finally driven out of the Sarkars. The financial assistance which the Madras government voted at the last moment came too late and was paid into the Vizagapatam treasury,²⁸ the Bengal government having already relieved Forde from his financial straits. Having arranged "all disputes" with Ananda Razu, Col. Forde marched with him towards Masulipatam.²⁹

22. This battle had not received the recognition it merited. See Malleson: *Decisive Battles of India*, Chapter IV pp. 72-89 and Forde; *Clive's Right Hand Man*, pp. 50-69. For an account of the events see *Bengal Select Cons.* 19 December 1758. Vol. 2. For a list of the killed and wounded, see *Orme Mss.* Vol. XIII. p. 3,059.

23. *Bengal to Forde*.²⁶ January 1759, *Madras military and Secret consultations*, 28 February, Vol. 41, pp. 24-25. See also *Anandaraju to Madras*, *Cons.* 15 March, *Idem.* p. 55.

24. *Forde to Madras*. 19 March *Cons.* 27 March *Idem.* pp. 86-87.

25. *Milit. Cons.* 21 March, *Idem.* p. 88.

26. *Madras to Forde*. 28 March, *Idem.* pp. 93-94; also *Madras to Vizagapatam*. 2 April, *Idem.* pp. 104-05.

27. *Forde to Clive, Ellore*, 22 February: *Orme Mss.* Vol. 292. pp. 47-48. See also *Orme: History*, Vol. II. p. 473.

28. *Milit. Cons.* 9 April, Vol. 41. p. 107.

29. *Bengal to Madras*. 20 January 1759 *Madras Milit. Cons.* 9 April.

Forde successfully captured Masulipatam on the night of 7—8 April 1759.³⁰ Madras was jubilant about his success. They wrote to him:³¹ "After the final blow you have given to the power of the French in the Deccan, Salabat Jang will be willing to be friends with us upon the terms you can reasonably propose. We doubt not you will make use of the opportunities of securing for the Company such beneficial grants and privileges as will make ample amends for the expenses of the expedition." They further ordered Andrews to proceed to Masulipatam and co-operate with Forde in bringing Salabat Jang to terms.³² Meanwhile two French ships appeared in the Masulipatam roads, while a body of French troops already in the Sarkars joined Salabat Jang who encamped near Ibrahimpatam³³ and the latter's *amil-dars* took effective possession of the districts round Masulipatam. Ananda Razu returned to Rajahmundry and the "French still make their good with Salabat Jang". Still the Madras government could not send any assistance to Forde but hoped that the capture of Masulipatam might induce Salabat Jang to come to terms, while to prevent further mischief they ordered the French prisoners to Madras.³⁴

The subversive activities of Nizam Ali, brother of Salabat Jang, induced the latter to come to easy terms with Col. Forde. On 14 May 1759 he agreed to the requests put forward by "Requests of Col. Forde". 1759. Col. Forde.³⁵ granting the Company the eight districts of the *Sarkar* of Masulipatam, as well as the *Sarkar* of Nizambatam and the districts of Kondavidu and

30. *Forde to Madras* 10 April, *idem* 20 April, *idem* p. 125. Malleson wrote: "Rightly may Kondur and Machilipatanam rank among the decisive battles of India. Few battles have produced more brilliant results. If Kaveripak was the turning point in the contest between the French and the English for the possession of Southern India south of the Krishna, the capture of Machilipatanam most assuredly secured for the authority they now command and the influence they now exercise in the provinces lying between that river and the Vindhyan range". *Decisive Battles of India*, pp. 406—07.

31. *Madras to Forde*, (Milit) 20 April Vol. 41, pp. 125—27.

32. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 21 April, Vol. 41, p. 127.

33. *Forde to Madras*, 17 April, *Milit. Cons* 18 April *Idem* pp. 136—37.

34. *Milit. Cons*, 28 April and 3 May *Idem*. pp. 138 and 155 respectively: see also *Madras to Forde*, 3 and 6 May, pp. 158 and 162 respectively: *Madras to Admiral Pocock*, 3 May pp. 159—160, and finally, *Madras to Bengal*, 8 May pp. 175—76.

35. Articles of treaty in *Milit. Cons*, 11 July. Vol. 41, pp. 275—78. These may also be read in *Aitchison*, Vol. IX, p. 20., in appendix p. 10 Col. Forde's *Clive's Right Hand Man*, pp. 199—200., and in Briggs; *The Nizam*, Vol. I, pp. 225—226, besides other standard histories. The treaty is also copied in *Orme Mem.* Vol. 292, p. 203.

Doubts were expressed as to the validity of the treaty which, it was alleged, did not conform to the usual form adopted on such ceremonial occasions.

Akulamannadu as *inam*, or free gift, and *sanads* were granted to them in the same manner as had been done to the French. The French were to leave the country within a fortnight and the French Company was not to have any settlement whatsoever in the Northern Sarkars. He agreed not to call on Ananda Razu to account for joining the English to demand the money collected by him during his march from Chicacole to Masulipatam, or to require from him more than the tribute paid by the Vijayanagaram family during the time of Nizamul-Mulk. The English on their part bound themselves not to assist any of the *subadar's* enemies.³⁶

According to this treaty Ananda Gajapati lost any claim he had to the acquisition of new territory under the two agreements between him and the Company, but, as against this his interests were judiciously protected from any undue encroachment on the part of Salabat Jang and this provision ensured the support of the Pusapatis which was to be of great importance for the maintenance of the Company's authority in the Northern Sarkars during the first thirty and odd years of their administration.³⁷

Great delay took place in restoring public order in the newly acquired countries since Col. Forde was independent of the authority of the Madras government and failed to co-operate with Andrews, their nominee. The Madras Council strongly protested to the Bengal Government³⁸ on which the latter wrote to Forde:³⁹ "Although it be not our intention that any one should interfere with you in your military command or the politics of the country, yet we think it will be for the Company's interest that Mr. Andrews take charge of the civil and mercantile

See Francis Russell: *A Short History of the East India Company*, p. 68.

The only complete map illustrative of the campaign of Col. Forde is to be found in Capt. Arthur Broome: *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*.

36. Clive wrote to the Court of Directors that by this treaty "the Company were invested with a grant of Masulipatam and all its districts by which acquisition they will reap the benefit of a revenue of at least four lacks of rupees per annum, besides the advantage of the exclusive trade of that place and the country around". See *Bengal Letters Received*, 29 December 1759. Vol. 4, p. 337.

37. For a clear and comprehensive account of the events that led to the complete evacuation by the French of the Sarkars, see Broome. *Bengal Army*, pp. 209—50. This account is mainly based on Orme, Wilks and Malcolm's *Clive*.

Ananda Gajapati was mainly instrumental in this achievement. See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 24 November, 1759, *Milit Cons.* 8 December, Vol. 42, pp. 740—41. See also *Capt. Fischer to Madras*, 5 January 1760. *idem*, 24 January. vol. 43 pp. 97—98.

38. *Madras to Bengal (Milit.)* 8 and 10 July. 1759. Vol. 41, pp. 343 and 352 respectively. See also *Madras to Forde*, 13 July, *idem*, pp. 357—58

39. *Forde to Madras*, 18 September, 1759. *Milit Cons.* 24 September, *idem* pp. 530—31.

affairs at Masulipatam; you will therefore permit him to act as Chief agreeable to his appointment from Fort St. George". After his supersession in the command of the Bengal forces, Ford resigned his command to Captain Fischer and strenuous efforts were successfully made by Andrews to secure direct control of the Company's affairs in the Sarkars and for the retention of the Bengal forces for a considerable length of time.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, matters took a serious turn at the Court of Hyderabad. Nizam Ali drove Salabat Jang off the *Masnad* and immediately marched into the Sarkars to collect the tribute claimed from the family of Vijayanagaram for the Chicacole and Rajahmundry Sarkars for a period of over three years.⁴¹ The temporary Chief of Masulipatam, James" Alexander, attended him at Rajahmundry but was unsuccessful in obtaining a confirmatory *sanad* from him, without which the grant of Salabat Jang would lapse and the Company would have no legal right to collect the revenues from the Masulipatam farms. Although refusing to grant his *sanad* to the company, Nizam Ali offered to pay a lakh of rupees for a specified body of troops and stores to be supplied by the Company, intimating his willingness to grant the three middle Sarkars provided the Madras government defeated the Marathas and restored him to his possessions lately conquered by them. The Madras government rejected this proposal as impracticable and from this time begins a long period of negotiations between Nizam Ali and Madras for an alliance in return for the Northern Sarkars.⁴²

The uncertain situation of affairs in the Sarkars was greatly complicated by the sudden death of Ananda Gajapati at Rajahmundry about 23 February 1760.⁴³ A schism in the house of Vijayanagaram threw the affairs of the country into great confusion. Chandramma, the widow of Ananda Gajapati and confusion in the Sarkars. Vijayaramaraju the Great, contrived to obtain the

40. The unjust treatment of Col. Forde is clearly brought out by Col. Forde, in his *Lord Clive's Right Hand Man*.

See resolution in *Milit. Cons.*, 24 September, 1759. Vol. 12. pp. 536—87. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21 September, *Idem.* 27 September, pp. 551—52, and the resolution thereon, p. 561, *Same to Same.* 7 October, *Idem.* 15 October, pp. 615—16. *Forde to Madras*, 8 October, *Idem.* 16 October, pp. 623—24, and *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21 October, *Idem.* 30 October, p. 668.

41. *Ananda Gajapati to Madras*, in *Milit. Cons.* 12 May, 1760 Vol. 43. p. 465. See also *Masulipatam to Madras*, 9 May, *idem.* 19 May. p. 482. •

42. *Masulipatam to Madras.* 26 May, 1760. *Milit. Cons.* 2 June. Vol. 42 pp. 518—19. *Nizam Ali to Madras, Country Correspondence*, No. 219, for the same year. *Idem.*, pp. 520—21, and *Masulipatam to Madras* 2 June, *Idem.* 16 June p. 562, and the resolution of the Madras Council thereon, pp. 562—63.

43. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 29 February, *Idem.* 10 March pp. 241—42. • See also, *Madras to Masulipatam*, 11 March, pp. 254—55.

nomination of one of his nephews to the *gadi* of Vijayanagaram, in the person of Vijayaramaraju II, setting aside the pretensions of Sitaramaraju his elder brother, an arrangement fraught with dangerous consequences to the peace of the country and the stability of the Company's administration for over a quarter of a century.⁴⁴ At once the malcontents headed by Ramabhadra Payakarao, Raja of the principality of Anakapalli, commenced hostilities.⁴⁵ The whole of the Chicacole Sarkar was plundered by the disaffected party, which was joined by Sitaramaraju himself.⁴⁶ Vijayaramaraju's troops were routed, the Company's town of Wathara plundered and Vizagapatam itself threatened.⁴⁷ Efforts were made in vain to bring about an understanding between the two brothers, as Sitaramaraju insisted on either his appointment as *diwan* to his younger brother or the equal division of the territories between them. His proposals having been rejected, Sitaramaraju left Vijayanagaram in disgust.⁴⁸ Throughout these proceedings, the Madras Government pursued a policy of cautious indifference with a view to allow the parties to settle their affairs,⁴⁹ especially in view of the fact that negotiations with Nizam Ali had been broken off. But the situation was temporarily brought under control by the demands of Nizam Ali for the payment of the Vijayanagaram arrears which compelled Sitaramaraju to acquiesce in the title of Vijayaramaraju and accept the *diranship*.⁵⁰

The breakdown of negotiations between Nizam Ali and the Company had left the former free to settle the affairs of the Sarkars.

The Sarkar of Murtizanagar* or Guntur had already been granted to his brother Basalat Jang and Hussain Ali Khan who had been so far enjoying its rent was ejected.⁵¹ But the Khan himself was now appointed

Breakdown of
negotiations
with Nizam Ali

44. This transaction which was a veritable night-mare to the Madras government is described by Edward Cotsford, who was appointed Chief of Ganjam eight years later. No other source explains this arrangement, in a clear and an authentic way. See appendix No IV, to the *Answer to the Charges* by Sir Thomas Rumbold. (The full title is given in the bibliography).

45. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 1 April, 1760. *Milit. Cons.* 24 April, Vol. 43 pp. 415-16; See also *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 26 April *Idem*, p. 420.

46. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 13 July, *Milit. Cons.* 18 August, Vol. 44. pp. 691-92, *same to same*, 23 July, *Idem*. pp. 692-93, *same to same* 17 August, *Idem* 21 August, *Idem*. p. 713.

47. *Same to same*, 19 September, and 1 and 12 October, *Idem* 18 October, pp. 906, and 982-83 respectively.

48. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 12 October 1759. *Milit. Cons.* 11 November, pp. 982-83. *Same to same*, 29 November, *Idem*. 31 December pp. 1, 123-24.

49. *Madras to Masulipatam*, 11 March, 1760 Vol. 43 pp. 251-55. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 12 November, Vol. 44, pp. 989-90.

50. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 1 December, *Idem* 31 December, *Idem* pp. 691-92,

51. *Sampat Rao to Madras*, *Basalat Jang to Madras*, and *Nizam Ali to Madras* all undated, in *Millt. Cons.* 20 March 1760 *idem* p. 288.

Sampat Rao was the *diwan* of Anwar-ud Din, the *nawab* of Arcot. See Mark Wilks; *Historical Sketches of the South of India* Vol. 1 p. 249.

nawab of the three Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar while Vijayaramaraju was made responsible for the rent of the Chicacole Sarkar. Immediately these arrangements had been completed, Nizam Ali withdrew from the Sarkars, thus leaving the Company unable to procure any confirmation of Salabat Jang's grants.⁵²

The re-appointment of Andrews as Chief of Masulipatam marked a further stage in the efforts of the Company for the acquisition of the Sarkars. His instructions urged a policy of non-inter-
Hussain Ali's mission to Madras 1762
 vention in the internal affairs of the country unless clearly compelled to take the offensive.⁵³ Contrasted with this watching brief of Andrews was Nizam Ali's anxiety to secure an alliance with the Company. He deputed Hussain Ali Khan to Madras to settle the differences which stood in the way of such an alliance and sent *sanads* for the five Sarkars to be delivered to the Madras government in order to induce them to enter into an agreement with him.⁵⁴ Madras was at once unprepared and unwilling to send any force to his assistance, owing to their commitments in respect to the war with France and Spain and the expedition to Manila.⁵⁵ They were equally averse to returning the *sanads*, since such an act would certainly lead to further misunderstandings with Nizam Ali.

To obviate these difficulties, they offered a body of thousand troops to Hussain Ali to assist him in collecting the revenues of the three Sarkars under his management. It is difficult to ascertain with certainty how far Hussain Ali endeavoured to secure the approval of Nizam Ali before he entered into this agreement but the Madras government were greatly deceived in believing that the arrangement would be satisfactory to the court of Hyderabad. According to this agreement, the expenses of any military aid sent into the Sarkars were to be defrayed by Hussain Ali who, curiously enough, was "not, in fact, to have any power or authority in the management of the Circars."⁵⁶ But as a concession to his pride

52. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 13 July. *Milit. Cons.* 18 August, 1760. Vol. 44 pp. 691—92.

53. *Instructions to Andrews*, 9 May 1761, Vol. 47. pp. 333—34.

54. *Nizam Ali to Madras, Country Correspondence* No. 97 for 1762 *Milit Cons.* 19 August 1762 Vol. 48 pp. 11—229-30.

This volume has three sections with different sets of pages.

For a comprehensive view of these negotiations with Nizam Ali, See, *Madras Letter Received*, 9 November 1762. (Pigot) paras 10—12. Vol. 1—A. The pages in this volume are not numbered.

Madras confessed their initiative in inducing Hussain Ali to proceed to Madras and negotiate on behalf of his master.

55. *Milit. Cons.* 19 August Vol. 48 p. II—230.

56. *Idem.* 30 August. *Idem.* pp. II—249-52; See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 23 September, *idem.* pp. II—287-94.

and position as *naiib* to Nizam Ali, the Chief of Masulipatam was directed to consult him in all matters relating to the revenue administration of the country.⁵⁷

Hussain Ali Khan's long stay at Madras and his unsuccessful negotiations for an alliance created a hostile party to him at Nizam Ali's court. He was peremptorily dismissed from his station, its failure.

and a new deputy, Sultan Mahomed Khan, was appointed even before Hussain could return to Masulipatam.⁵⁸ But since troops had now actually been sent into the Sarkars, the Madras government took the responsibility on their shoulders and wrote to Masulipatam:⁵⁹ "We never intended that Hussain Ally Cawn should have any power or direction in the affairs of the Circars otherwise than by his advice which from his knowledge of them might be useful". But they were not as yet able to carry this policy into effect. Instead, they decided⁶⁰ to "depend chiefly on the voluntary submission of the Zamindars, but should the greater part of the most powerful of them prove disobedient, it would not, by any means, be advisable to attempt to reduce them".

The policy of peaceful penetration as allies of Ananda Gajapati and later on of Hussain Ali, advocated and carefully launched by the Madras government did not prove effective. A state of anarchy prevailed throughout the Sarkars, "there being no part of government since the sanads were published."⁶¹ Though Hussain Ali Khan has ceased to be the legal deputy of the Dekhan government, his officers used "every method in their power to collect money" under the old agreements. In his haste to collect what he could, he lent himself to "tyranny and oppression" which completely ruined the country, "and thus for present gain he has very near[ly] ruined the four best pergunnas in the Circars."⁶² The fraternal disputes between Vijayaramaraju and Sitaramaraju left the Chicacole Sarkar in an unsettled condition.⁶³ To add to this confusion, a formidable Mahratta

57. *Milit. Cons.* 30 August 1762, and *Madras to Masulipatam* 23 September Vol. 18, pp. 11—249—52 and 297—94.

58. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 and 11 October, *idem.* 25 October, *idem.* 11. 334—39. The numbering of pages in this volume is irregular: for example, there are three sets of pp. 338 and 339 in the same place in section two.

59. *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 October, *idem.* 11—343—17.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 October 1762, *Milit. Cons.* 1 November, vol. 18 pp. 111, 1—2.

*Madras wrote to the Court of Directors: "We must acknowledge that the temptation here placed before us in the prospect of great advantages from the Revenues of the Circars on the one hand and the danger of engaging ourselves in an undertaking beyond our strength on the other, threw us into some perplexity." *Madras Letters Received*, 9 November, (Pigot) para. 12. Vol. 1—A.

62. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 October, *idem.* 1 November, *idem.* pp. 111. 2-5

63. *Same to same*, 12 October, *idem.* 25 October, *idem.* pp. 11. 334-9.

force invaded this Sarkar, drove away the *faujdar* stationed there by the Raja of Vizianagaram and plundered the country.⁶⁴ The Vinnakota pargana of the Guntur district which the government had rented to Mangu Appanna was the scene of constant plunder, even by the renter himself.⁶⁵ In these circumstances, Madras was unprepared to go beyond the measures they had already taken, while the new deputy Sultan Mahomed was powerless to deal with the situation.

The Hyderabad government moved slowly but emphatically and demanded the return of the *sanads*, as the conditions on the performance of which alone they would become operative were non-existent.⁶⁶ Madras promptly returned them to Nizam Ali but they resolved to keep the fort of Rajahmundry under their control until the expenses of the troops lent to Hussain Ali had been made good.⁶⁷

Nizam Ali questioned the Company's competence to rent the Vinnakota *pargana* and appointed Abdul Rahman Khan *alias* Budda Jema Khan, the former *bakshi* of Hussain Ali Khan, to the management of the three Sarkars, of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar.⁶⁸ But since he refused to be responsible for the payment of the expenses of the detachment which Hussain Ali secured without his previous sanction, the Madras government declared that Abdul Rahman must be accountable for the same.⁶⁹ Hussain Ali himself, being unable to disband his undisciplined *sibbandi* of 20,000 men, gave a lot of trouble to the Company.⁷⁰ Abdul Rahman evaded payment of the lakh of rupees with which he was debited in the Company's accounts and persisted in maintaining that the responsibility solely rested with Hussain Ali, who by this time had been completely divested of all authority in the Sarkars and had taken refuge

64. *Vizayapatam to Madras*. 29 November, *idem*. 29 December, *idem*, pp. 111-89-90.

65. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 14 October, 1762, *Milit. Cons.* 25 October, Vol. 48. pp. 11-339-42: See also the account of the ruinous state of the *pargana* in the enclosures to *Same to same*, 23 October, *idem*. 1 November, pp. 111-5-6: also *same to same*, 27 November, *idem*. 6 December, *idem*. pp. 111-57-59.

66. *Country Correspondence* Nos. 165, 166 and 167 for 1762 in *Milit. Cons* 15 November. *idem*. pp. 111-19. See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 18 November, *idem*. pp. 111-27-28.

67. *Milit. Cons.* 15 November, *idem*. pp. 111-21-22; See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 18 November *idem*. 27-28. See further, *Madras Letters Received*, 3 September, 1762. (Pigot) paras. 1-3 Vol. 1.A.

68. *Nizam Ali to Masulipatam* in *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 December, 1762. *Milit. Cons.* 3 January 1763 Vol. 49 pp 1-3. *Same to same*, 18 January, *idem*. pp. 26-27, *Capt. Blake to Masulipatam*, Rajahmundry, 16 January, *idem*. pp 27-28 and *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19, 24, and 25 January, *idem*. pp. 28-29; and p. 30 respectively

69. *Nizam Ali to Madras. Country Correspondence*, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12 for 1763 *Idem*. 16 January, *idem*. 31-32. See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 7 February and 3 March, pp. 42-43 and 114 respectively.

70. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 October 1762, *idem*. 1 November, Vol. 48. pp. 111-5 and *same to same*, 10 February 1763, *idem* 21 February, Vol. 49 pp, 64-67,

at Masulipatam.⁷¹

But Kandregula Jogi Pantulu, the Company's *dubash* and interpreter at Masulipatam, who was to play a large part in the early revenue administration of the Sarkars, succeeded in bringing **Agreement with Abdul Rahman.** Abdul Rahman to terms with the Company. Under this agreement,⁷² John Pybus, Chief of Masulipatam, undertook not to assist any Zamindar as against Rahman Khan and allow him credit for the stores removed from Rajahmundry which was evacuated by the Company's troops, in return to his undertaking that the expenses of the expedition would be paid by *tips* on the *sahukar* Syamal Das. With the payment of the expenses by Abdul Rahman on 21 June, 1763,⁷³ the steadying hand of the Company was withdrawn and once more the Sarkars were given up to plunder and anarchy.

Meanwhile, Sitaramaraju had successfully subdued the insurrection of Narayana Deo, Raja of Kimidi, who had lately shown an inclination to join the French at Balasore, notwithstanding the fact **Rise of Sita-Rama Raju's power,** that on a former occasion he had been responsible for compelling Moracin to flee from the Ganjam district.⁷⁴

Sitaramaraju then prepared to march southward with a view to settling his affairs with the Company but further complications arose when Nizam Ali appointed Fateh-ud Din Mahomed Khan to the management of the Chicacole Sarkar for which Sitaramaraju was supposed to be responsible on behalf of his brother Vijayaramaraju.⁷⁵

71. *Same to same*, 21 February *idem*, 28 February, *idem*. pp. 99-103. For a statement of the expenses of the detachment see p. 104.

72. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 10 March, *Milit. Cons.* 21 March pp. 142-44. *Instructions to Jogi Pantulu*, by John Pybus, 7 March, pp. 144-147, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 18 March *idem*. 28 March pp. 158-60 which contains the agreement between Abdul Rahman and the Company, *Masulipatam to Lieut. Cosby*, (later Sir Henry Cosby) 28 March pp. 165-66 approving Pybus's agreement.

It is interesting to note here that Madras did not approve of Pybus's action in respect to his offer to Abdul Rahman of a body of troops on the lines of the assistance given to Hussain Ali. See Pybus's explanation of the measure in *Masulipatam to Madras*, 17 April *idem* 25 April, pp. 217-18. Details of the final settlement with Abdul Rahman for Current Pagodas 40,472 in discharge of the expenses of the detachment are to be found on pp. 219-20,

The assistance given to Abdul Rahman pending the orders of the Madras government was withdrawn. See *Masulipatam to Madras* 20 May *idem*. 6 June. pp. 11-14-15. A second series of pages begins after p. 286 of Section one in Vol. 49.

The original occupation of Rajahmundry by Lieut. Cosby, which was now relinquished by the Company, is only described in the *East India Military Calendar* p. 2.

73. The payment was made in two instalments. See *Masulipatam to Madras* 20 May 1763 *Milit. Cons.* 6 June Vol. 49 p. 11-15 and *same to same* 21 June, *idem* 27 June, p. 11-32.

74. *Vizagapatam to Madras* 21 February, *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 February *idem* 5th and 7 March *idem*. pp. 118 and 119 respectively.

75. *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 February 1763 *idem* 7 March *idem*. pp. 119-21.

Sitaramaraju's influence reached its zenith with the reduction of Narayana Deo. Having made his brother, the rightful Raja, "a kind of state prisoner," he marched southward with a large army and took possession of Rajahmundry. Fateh-ud Din Mohamed, unable to establish his authority against such a formidable rival, withdrew.⁷⁶ Sitaramaraju thus having everything in his favour dealt in an "arbitrary and high-handed" manner with the zamindars, including the Raja of Mugalaturru.⁷⁷ The Company was now placed in an awkward situation. They were unable to help the Raja of Mugalaturru, though he had rented from them the farms of Tonduru and Bondada for an annual rent of a lakh of rupees. And Nizam Ali himself, incompetent to deal with Sitaramaraju, asked the assistance of the Company.⁷⁸ The Palk government, which had just then succeeded the administration of Pigot, resolved.⁷⁹ "Altho' it is not in our power to afford Nizam Ally any assistance he required, [sic] yet as the Company have earnestly recommended to us to procure grants for the Circars to the northward, it may possibly in some measure facilitate our obtaining them were we to enter into a correspondence with Nizam Ally and amuse him with promises of our assistance as soon as we are able, as he may by that means be induced to decline in engaging in any connection with the French."

Fortunately for the Company, a clash with Sitaramaraju was averted as the latter was obliged to recross the Godavari and to leave the Mugalaturru Raja unmolested for some time.⁸⁰ Sita Ramaraju protested against the protection given by the Company, however nominal, to the Raja of Mugalaturru and openly paraded his hopes of coercing Nizam Ali into granting him the Sarkars as his nominal deputy.⁸¹ Abdul Rahman and Fateh-ud Din Mohamed meanwhile sought and obtained asylum at Masulipatam, whither they followed their predecessor in office, Hussain Ali.⁸² Convinced that

76. *Milit. Cons.* 2 August Vol. 49 p. 107. *Masulipatam to Madras* 14 August *idem* 26 August, pp. 146-47. and *same to same*, 7 October *idem* 15 October, pp. 265-66.

77. *Same to same* 20 October, *idem* 15 November. This volume is not numbered after p. 287 of section two.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 4 May 1764 (Palk) para 44 Vol. II. (pages not numbered).

78. *Nizam Ali to Madras, Country Correspondence* Nos. 184, 185 and 186 in *Masulipatam to Madras*, 2 November 1763 *idem*. 15 November 1763 Vol. 49. (pages not numbered.)

79. *Idem*. See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 18 November, *idem*.

80. *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 November, *Milit. Cons.* 22 December Vol. 4-a (pages not numbered in this place.)

81. *Sitaramaraju to Madras, Country Correspondence* Nos. 81 and 82 for 1764. *Milit. Cons.* 23 April Vol. 50 p. 295.

82. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 April 1764 *idem*. 9 April *idem*, pp. 259-60.

Sitaramaraju "cannot.....have any just grounds for attacking the Mugalaturru rajah," Palk's government directed Masulipatam to conciliate him and wrote that "in reality, we have no [more] right to interfere in favour of the Mugalatore Rajah than any other Zemindar under the Circar of Rajahmundry."⁸³ To augment the confusion thus prevailing in the Sarkars Basalat Jang's troops systematically pillaged the Sarkars of Mustafanagar and Ellore and collected *chauth* from the various zamindars. He even compelled the chief of Masulipatam to supply him with boats to cross the river Kistna in order to make common cause with Sitaramaraju and subvert the authority of Nizam Ali.⁸⁴ After an heroic defence for seven months, Samalkota surrendered to Sitaramaraju, who then recrossed the Godavari in order to resume operations against the Raja of Mugalaturru, having on his way settled the affairs of the Sarkar of Rajahmundry and left it under the charge of Raghavaraju, the guardian of the minor Raja of Peddapuram.⁸⁵

But, meanwhile, a further stage in the negotiations with Nizam Ali had opened with the success that attended the expedition to Manilla and the reduction of Yusuf Khan.⁸⁶ In consequence of the persistent orders from the Court of Directors for the acquisition of the Sarkars, Palk's government had reviewed the whole position. They wrote home:⁸⁷ "As our principal views on those Circars are to procure a handsome clear income for our Hon'ble masters and to prevent their falling again into the hands of the French, we judged that these might be accomplished by offering to rent the Circars on your account for a certain number of years, on such terms as might maintain the troops necessary for their protection and at the same time yield a good profit to the Company". A critical examination of the French administration under Bussy led them to conclude⁸⁸ that out of an anticipated gross revenue of Rs. 35,77,404 from the Sarkars they could conveniently afford to pay Nizam Ali ten to fifteen lakhs of rupees annually. But being still unprepared for a military alliance with him, they

83. *Milit. Cons* 23 April *idem* pp. 295-36. See also: *Madras to Masulipatam*, 12 April and 25 April *idem* pp. 272-73 and 297 respectively.

84. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 May *Milit. Cons.* 7 May *idem* pp. 909-11 and *same to same* 1 June *idem* 8 June p. 378.

85. *Same to same* 16 June *idem* 22nd June pp. 399-401.

86. For a scholarly account of the amazing career of Yusuf Khan and his subsequent fall, see S. C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*.

87. *Madras Letters Received*, 20 October 1764 (Palk) paras. 29-31 Vol. 11 (pages not numbered.)

88. *Milit. Cons* 13 August 1764 Vol. 51 pp. 598-605.

resolved.⁸⁹ "Upon the whole, if Nizam Ali should absolutely refuse to let us have the Circars on any other terms than sending a body of troops to his assistance, we think we cannot consistently with the interest of the Company agree thereto."

At the recommendation of John Pybus, Kandregula Jogi Pantulu was entrusted with the delicate mission of seeking an agreement with Nizam Ali.⁹⁰ He was directed to bring Nizam Ali to such terms as should be most advantageous to the Company, without paying more than five lakhs of rupees for the first year, ten for the second and fifteen for the third.⁹¹ Realising that the impediments in the way of success were formidable, the Madras government agreed to pay a *nazar* of a lakh of rupees to Rukn-ud Daula *diwan* to Nizam Ali, to obtain his good offices, while they tried to lure Nizam Ali himself with the tempting offer of a cash payment of five lakhs of rupees, the tribute for the first year, within thirty days of the actual delivery of the *sanads* for the five Sarkars. Masulipatam amplified these instructions to Jogi Pantulu.⁹² In view of the strong rumours that Hussain Ali had been restored to favour at the court of Hyderabad and re-appointed *amildar* for the Sarkars of Ellore and Mustafanagar, they instructed the Pantulu not to enter into any agreement with Nizam Ali if these two Sarkars were excluded from the rental. Nizam Ali should credit the Company with whatever sums had been collected by Sitaramaraju when in possession of the Country. No further alienation of land was to be made either for religious and charitable purposes or for rewarding public servants. On the other hand, "the Company shall be allowed to remove, turn out or entirely dispossess any Zamindar that may be troublesome, refractory or rebellious or refuse to be accountable regularly for the rents of the countries under his jurisdiction ..: they shall be at liberty to let such countries as may be now held by the Zemindars to other renters if they see proper and generally garrison any of the strongholds in the Sarkars which and when they deem fit". Thus, complete authority to direct the internal management of the country unhampered by any intrusion of the power of the court of Hyderabad was the object of the Madras government in proposing to rent the lands from Nizam Ali. This is a matter which is of great importance for the determination of the extent of the competence of the Company to deal with the rights of the zamindars, renters, revenue officials and finally of the actual inhabitants.

89. *Idem.* See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 17 August, *idem.* pp. 622-24.

90. *Milit. Cons.* 6 and 12 November 1764 *idem.* pp. 926-27 and 940-41 respectively, See also *Madras to Masulipatam* 13 November *idem.* 942-43.

91. *Instructions to Jogi Pantulu from Madras*, 12 November, *idem.* 943-46.

92. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 28 November, *Milit. Cons.* 6 December, Vol. 51. pp. 1,015-17, and *Instructions to Jogi Pantulu, from Masulipatam, idem.* pp. 1,014-25

Jogi Pantulu could not obtain all these demands. Once again, Hussain Ali turned out to be the stumbling block in the way of the negotiations but this the Masulipatam Council had anticipated. Summing

up the situation John Pybus, who took his seat at the Madras Council on temporarily relinquishing his station of Chief of Masulipatam, minuted.⁹³

Hussain Ali's
return to power.

"the greatest obstacle to our getting the five Circars seemed to be Hussain Ally who had received Sanads for the Circars of Ellore and Mustaphanagur." Hussain Ali offered to defray the expenses of any military aid lent to him by the Company and the diffident government of Robert Palk readily yielded to his proposal "as the assisting Hussain Ally may be the means of our getting a footing in the Circars" in case the negotiations with Nizam Ali dragged on fruitlessly.⁹⁴ The Madras government entered into an agreement with Hussain Ali who was accordingly to receive through their instrumentality five lakhs of rupees from the Nawab of Arcot with which he might pay his dues to his master.⁹⁵ Jogi Pantulu's negotiations for an independent alliance failed. But he obtained the ratification of the agreement with Hussain Ali before leaving Hyderabad.⁹⁶

With the assistance of the Company's troops Hussain Ali brought the Mustafanagar sarkar under his control,⁹⁷ but his ambitions did not stop there. Even though he was only granted the rent of the Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars, which readily submitted to him,⁹⁸ he

93. *Milit. Cons.* 15 January 1765. Vol. 52. pp. 33-35.

94. *Milit. Cons.* 13 February Vol. 52 pp. 118-19; see also *Madras Letters Received* 27 March 1765 (Palk), paras 4-10 Vol. II.

In this they had acted in accordance with the wishes of the Court of Directors who wrote: "Military expeditions are so expensive and ruinous and their consequences so indefinite, that we shall be better contented to enjoy what we already possess in peace than to risque the least part in new engagements attended with fresh scenes of warfare in hopes of acquiring more". *Madras Dispatches*, 24 December, 1765, para 5. Vol. III. p. 282.

The original draft in the India Office Records is missing. Apparently, a copy had been obtained from the Madras Record Office and preserved.

95. *Milit. Cons.* 20 and 25 February Vol. 52, pp. 133-38 and 153-54 respectively. See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 12 March, *idem.* pp. 163-64. The loan of the Nawab of Arcot was clearly mentioned in *Madras Letters Received*, 1 April 1765 (Palk) paras 4 and 15, Vol. II.

96. Jogi Pantulu's mission cost the Company's treasury Current Pagolas 1,124. See *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 April, *Milit. Cons.* 14 April Vol. 52 pp. 302-03.

97. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 9 April, *idem.* 22 April pp. 327-29.

98. Robert Palk wrote to the Court: "Except Chicacole all the Northern Circars with the assistance of your detachment quietly submitted to Hussain Ali who has duly performed his engagements to the Company and is now endeavouring to bring Chicacole under a proper regulation". *Palk to the Court of Directors* (personal) 4 September 1765, in *Madras Letters Received*, Vol. II.

tried again to regain his lost supremacy by endeavouring to bring Sitar Ram Razu to terms.⁹⁹ Madras wrote to the Court of Directors:¹⁰⁰ "It is however necessary in order to enable Hussain Ally to make good his engagements with the Company and the Soubah to oblige Seatteramarazue to come to terms; lest such a measure might prejudice your investment at Vizagapatam we shall try every means to bring them to an accommodation in an amicable manner and shall therefore insist upon Hussain Ally's accepting such terms as may appear to us in Seatteramarazue's power to Comply". Rajahmundry being strongly garrisoned by the Razu, Madras directed Masulipatam to dislodge him peaceably therefrom.¹⁰¹ With great reluctance, the Razu evacuated the place and retreated northwards. Further arrangements with him were temporarily suspended in view of the fact that *sanacs* for the Northern Sarkars were expected from the Mughal Emperor.¹⁰²

The Company's position in the Sarkars had improved substantially by this time. Curiously enough, Sitaramaraju, while refusing to treat with Hussain Ali, entered into an agreement with Capt. Madge on behalf of the Company even though they had no Improved position of the Company. status as yet to manage the Sarkars. In this respect the initiative of the Madras government was amply rewarded but it remains a fact that they had not been authorised to negotiate with Sitaramaraju but only to lend their assistance to Hussain Ali as *naib* of Nizam Ali for the *sarkars* of Ellore and Mustafanagar. Hussain Ali himself was naturally dissatisfied with this arrangement, as the Madras government assumed the responsibility, Masulipatam itself admitting that "instead of acting as auxiliaries we have been obliged to assume the part of principals in his affairs."¹⁰³ This also gave Nizam Ali the pretext to enter the Sarkars once more with the avowed object of restoring order and collecting the three years' revenues

99. *Madras to Masulipatam*, Rajahmundry 3 May and *Masulipatam to Madras* 7 May, in *Milit. Cons.* 11 May, Vol. 52 pp 422-29.

100. *Madras Letters Received*, (Palk) 14 October 1765, para 24 Vol. II.

101. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 9 April, *Milit. Cons.* 20 May, Vol. 52 pp. 435-98 for the correspondence between John Pybus and Capt. Madge, see also *Madras to Masulipatam* 22 May, *idem* pp 462-63.

102. The idea of procuring a grant for the Sarkars from the Emperor originated before Clive's arrival.

Milit. Cons. 24 May, 1765. *idem* pp. 466-67, *Madge, to Masulipatam*, Rajahmundry, 14 May, p. 468 resolution of the Madras council thereon, p. 468 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 May, p. 478, See also *Madras Letters Received*, 8 August, 1765 (Palk), para 2 Vol. II.

103. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 May, *Milit. Cons.* 27 May, Vol. 52 pp. 486-89 *Madge to Masulipatam*, Rajahmundry, 15 May, pp. 489-92. and *Masulipatam to Madge*, 19 May, pp. 492-93.

due from Hussain Ali and Sitaramaraju. The Madras government, alive to the disastrous effects of such a march, which would endanger their unauthorised agreement with Sitaramaraju, however, directed Pybus to submit to Nizam Ali and mediate between him and the Raju in case he actually prepared to march into the Chicacole Sarkar.¹⁰⁴ Jogi Pantulu was again commissioned to wait on Nizam Ali, who by this time had actually entered the Sarkars and procure from him *sanads* for certain specified lands valued at five lakhs of rupees per annum in view of the military aid granted to Hussain Ali.¹⁰⁵

For the second time Jogi Pantulu's mission ended in failure¹⁰⁶ and once again the Company were compelled to acquiesce in a series of inconsistent and incoherent arrangements. Alarmed at the prospect of Rukn-ud Daula's marching into the Chicacole Sarkar on behalf of his master, Pybus adopted the counter-move of assisting Hussain Ali to negotiate for terms with Sitaramaraju (thereby nullifying the previous agreement between the latter and the Company conducted by Captain Madge) in order to discourage if not to preclude the *subadar* of the Dekhan from adopting a policy of military aggression for which he had neither ability nor inclination apart from the righteous indignation of the moment.¹⁰⁷

Incoherent proceedings of the government.

104 *Masulipatam to Madge* 19 May 1765. *Milit. Cons.* 27 May, Vol. 52, pp. 493-94 Resolution of the Madras Council thereon pp. 494-95, *Madras to Masulipatam* 27 May pp. 502-03.

Masulipatam to Madras, 29 May *idem* 7 June pp. 552-53 *Madge to Masulipatam*, 30 May pp. 557-58 and *Masulipatam to Madras* 1 June pp. 558-59,

Intelligence from the Company's agent at the court of Hyderabad in *Country Correspondence* No. 119 for 1755 and resolution of the Madras Council thereon, pp. 560-61, see also *Madras to Masulipatam* 8 June pp. 563-64 and 4 July pp. 657-58. The name of the agent is not mentioned.

105 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 6 June, *Milit. Cons.* 17 June, Vol. 53 pp. 580-96 resolution of the Madras Council thereon, pp. 586-96 *Masulipatam to Madras* 13 and 15 June, *idem* 24 June, pp. 613-15 and 615-16 respectively resolution of the Madras Council thereon, pp. 616-17. *Madras to Masulipatam*, 26 June pp. 625-27, *Masulipatam to Madras* 19 June *idem*, 1 July pp. 631-33. *Instructions to Jogi Pantulu from Masulipatam*, 17 June pp. 633-41.

The lands requested were the parganas, of Devarakota the Char Mahal, Vuyyur, Medur, Kaza Kalava, Elakota, Tatipuka, Perur Mundapeta, Bandarammalaka, Ganjam, sundry villages round Vizagapatam, and fifty four villages in the Guntur district.

The Court of Directors approved the measures of the government in general terms. See their lengthy despatch of 4 March 1765, paras 5-14. *Madras Dispatches*, Vol. III. pp. 566-86.

106 *Masulipatam to Madras* 26 June 1765 *Milit. Cons.* 4 July Vol. 53. pp. 656-57 *same to same*, 9 July *idem* 22 July pp. 698-700.

Jogi Pantulu's mission cost the government Madras Pagodas 226. See *Masulipatam to Madras* 31 July *idem* 12 August *idem* pp. 742-44.

107 *Same to same* 18 July, 22 July, *idem*. pp. 709-10.

Meanwhile, at the request of Hussain Ali's *vakil* at the presidency, the Madras government agreed to accept two lakhs of rupees a year from him for the expenses of the Company's settlements in the Sarkars exclusive of the expenses of the military detachment placed under his command.¹⁰⁸ This arrangement succeeded in arresting Nizam Ali's movements. Hussain Ali at once applied for assistance to reduce Sitaramaraju according to the terms of this new agreement but after considerable deliberation and in spite of the fact that the Razu was "haughty, bold, vindictive and enterprising," the government still desired to explore every peaceful avenue to bring him to terms with Hussain Ali, since the Company's obligations to the Vizianagaram family were substantial.¹⁰⁹ As Sitaramaraju remained obdurate, the troops of the Company were reluctantly marched towards Rajahmundry, when Lord Clive's despatch to Madras, intimating that he had obtained *sannats* from Shah Alam for the Northern Sarkars coupled with the fact that an envoy of Nizam Ali was on his way to Masulipatam to make further arrangements as to the management of the Sarkars on behalf of the court of Hyderabad, resulted in the cessation of hostilities.¹¹⁰ With this opened a fresh stage in the negotiations for the acquisition of the Northern Sarkars.

On 15 January 1766 John Pybus, now again chief of Masulipatam, urged on the Madras government that the time had come to secure possession of the Sarkars.¹¹¹ He pointed out that Nizam Ali was at

108, *Madras to Masulipatam*, 13 August, *idem.* pp. 752-54.

109. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 August 1765. *Milit. Cons.* 26 August, Vol. 53 pp. 781-85, *Hussain Ali to Madras*, *Country Correspondence*, No. 199 for 1765 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 26 August, *idem.* pp. 789-91.

Hussain Ali to Madras, *Country Correspondence*, No. 205 for 1765. *Idem.* 9 September, pp. 833-34, and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 12 September, *idem.* pp. 845-46.

Masulipatam to Madras, 10 September, *idem.* 23 September, pp. 853-56, *Masulipatam to Capt. Hart*, 10 September, *idem.* pp. 857-58, *Masulipatam to Madras* 13 September, *idem.* p. 858, *Sitaramaraju to Madras*, *Country Correspondence*, No. 220, *idem.* pp. 858-59, *Vizagapatam to Madras* 4 September, *idem.* p. 860 and *Madras to Masulipatam and Vizagapatam*, 24 September, *idem.* pp. 862-64.

110. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 28 September, *idem.* 4 October, *idem.* pp. 887-88. *Lord Clive to Madras*. Allahabad, 20 August, *idem.* 12 October, *idem.* pp. 897-98 stating that His Majesty has given to the Company for ever as a free gift the northern Provinces". *Idem.* 22 October, *idem.* pp. 909-10, *Hussain Ali to Madras* *Country Correspondence*, No. 235 for 1765, in *Milit. Cons.* 28 October, p. 928, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 24 October, *idem.* 30 October, *idem.* pp. 939-41., *Madras to Masulipatam* 30 October, *idem.* pp. 942-43, and *Masulipatam to Madras*, 27 October *idem.* p. 943

Shah Alam's *farman* may be read in *Aitchison*, Vol. IX, pp. 20-21.

111. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 January 1766 *Milit. Cons.* 23 January, Vol. 57 pp. 14-20. •

This volume is specially devoted to the proceeding dealing with the acquisition of the Sarkars.

Further nego-
tiations with
Nizam Ali;
Publication of
the imperial
farman.

a considerable distance from Bezwada and could not effectively oppose such a proceeding, especially as he would not care to march into the Sarkars with a vast army during a time of severe drought; the obedience of the zamindars, which might be safely anticipated, would be a further check to his designs, and finally, the Sarkars themselves were scantily, if at all, protected by his troops. Madras readily countenanced these arguments and ordered Gen. Caillaud and Pybus to publish the imperial *farman* since "a more favourable opportunity for getting possession of the Circars cannot be expected."¹¹² This done, Hussain Ali Khan was immediately deprived of his status as *naib* of Nizam Ali and a suitable *jagir* was thrust on him to procure his acquiescence.¹¹³ The settlement with the zamindars was deferred until Kondavidu and Khammanet were secured.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Madras government instructed¹¹⁵ Mutabir Khan to arrange an exchange of envoys between Nizam Ali and the Company with a view to signing a definitive alliance.¹¹⁶ The conditions proposed were that the Company would not interfere in the administration of Nizam Ali; that they would be willing to negotiate peacefully for the acquisition of the Sarkars; as a proof of this, they would "maintain for his service as Zemindars of the five Circars a number of sepoys and artillery shall be agreed on", which was to be purely a mark of good faith; and, finally, that they would be willing to supply stores and ammunition to Nizam Ali and support the court of Hyderabad in times of crisis.

It will be seen from the above instructions to Mutabir Khan that the Madras government were not prepared to assert their claims to the Sarkars on the *farman* of Shah Alam, the actual value of which they had occasion to discount if not to totally discard.¹¹⁷ The defunct authority of the Mughal emperor was not sufficient to enable the Madras government to occupy an important tract of territory which was in fact possessed by the powerful *subadar* of the Dekhan. As Wilks points out:¹¹⁸ "The authority of the

112 See *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 January Vol. 57 pp. 32-33, also *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus*, 3 February. *idem* pp. 35-36.

113. *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus*, 12 March. *idem* pp. 71-72, and *Caillaud and Pybus to Madras*, 29 March, *Milit. Cons.* 7 April, *idem* pp. 84-88.

114. *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus*, 7 April *idem* pp. 82-89.

115. Mutabir Khan was a brother of the *nawab* of Arcot who at this time was transacting business with Nizam Ali with respect to the Carnatic.

116, *Milit. Cons.* 26 April. and *Instructions to Mutabir Khan*, Vol. 57 pp. 130-35.

117 McAuliffe quotes with approval the eminent jurist Westlake who described the emperor as "that mysterious fountain from which his strongest neighbour might pretend to draw authority". See, *The Nizam, the Origin and future of the Hyderabad State*.

118. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. I. p. 162.

Mogul, although nominally resorted to when convenient, had positively no existence in the south, Nizamul Mulk had been avowedly independent of the court of Delhi; neither tribute, nor obedience, were rendered by him, nor by any of his officers really or nominally dependent on him; and it was puerile to claim the exercise of power under an authority with which none of the parties had any other relation but that of rebellion." On this point Clive and Warren Hastings held practically identical views. While the negotiations with Nizam Ali were still proceeding, Lord Clive wrote to Madras:¹¹⁹ "To relinquish those Circars which we have already taken possession of by virtue of the royal Phirmaund, contrary to the inclination of the Soubah, would be considered as an act of fear not of justice". Thirteen years after this transaction, when recommending to Lord Macartney that the Sarkars might be restored to Nizam Ali, Warren Hastings summed up the whole transaction in the following manner:¹²⁰ "The first claim which the Company obtained for this territory was derived from a firman of the King Shah Alum, a pretension so weak that it was abandoned as soon as asserted for a more natural and equitable tenor, the cession of its actual and legal proprietor; but this was acquired under the circumstances which bore such an appearance of compulsion that it had ever since left on his (the Nizam's) mind an impression which must have been the unavoidable effect of such a cause, for it is certain that his loss by this bargain, in power, consequence and revenue, greatly exceeded the profits acquired by it on our side".

The negotiations of Mutabir Khan failed. Rukn-ud Daula protested on behalf of his master at the proceedings of the Company in occupying the Sarkars with a military force and dismissing Hussain Ali.¹²¹ Moreover, Nizam Ali resented the attempt of the Madras government to negotiate through a mere agent of his inferior the Nawa'b of Arcot and requested the deputation of a Company's servant to open negotiations.¹²² Madras was only too ready for such a proposal, and deputed Gen. Caillaud with "full powers for consulting the treaty".¹²³ In this measure, Madras had the complete support of Lord Clive.¹²⁴

119 *Clive to Madras*, 17 October, 1766 *Madras Milit. Cons.* 17 November, Vol. 57 pp. 340-43.

120. *Warren Hastings to Madras*, 2 July 1781. Forwarded to Lord Macartney after he took charge of the government from Charles Smith. *Home Miscellaneous Series*, Vol. 246. pp. 187-188.

121. *Rukn-ud Daula to Madras*, *Country Correspondence* No. 77 for 1766 *Milit. Cons.* 11 August, Vol. 57 pp. 316-17,

122. *Same to same*, No. 87 *idem.* 19 September pp. 276-77.

123. *Madras to Caillaud Smith*, 19 September, pp. 282-83.

124. *Clive to Madras*, 8 September, *idem.* 9 October pp. 299-300.

The Madras government had clearly defined their objects in acquiring the Northern Sarkars.¹²⁵ They were to provide for the security of the northern factories and the Company's investments there; to exalt the name of the Company in the estimation of the people; to maintain the friendship of Nizam Ali; and, finally, to keep the communications open between the two presidencies of Madras and Bengal. General Caillaud was given complete discretion to determine the terms of the treaty and the Madras government wrote to him that they "shall be satisfied with any conclusion that is not dishonourable and disadvantageous to our Hon'ble masters".¹²⁶ Curiously enough, the Madras government entered into an agreement with Hussain Ali Khan and Jogi Pantulu for a period of three years for the management of the three central Sarkars even before Caillaud reached Hyderabad to negotiate with Nizam Ali.¹²⁷ Caillaud had his first audience with Nizam Ali on 27 October¹²⁸ and the treaty was concluded on 12 November 1766.¹²⁹

125. *Madras to Caillaud and Pybus* (Milit.) 14 August, Vol. 57 pp. 222-25.

126. *Same to same*, 14 October, *idem.* p. 303.

127. *Milit. Cons.* 27 October, Vol. 57 pp. 321-22 and *Madras to Caillaud and Smith*, 28 October, *idem.* pp. 323-24. Charles Smith succeeded Pybus as chief of Masulipatam at this time.

128. *Caillaud to Madras*, Hyderabad 30 October, *idem.* 10 November, *idem.* pp. 328-29.

129. See *Milit. Cons.* 27 November, *idem.* pp. 347-48. Extracts from the diary of Caillaud dated 26, 27, 28 and 29 October, and 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 14 November are entered on *idem.* pp. 348-55.

The most damaging piece of criticism of these transactions came from one of the prominent legal authorities of the time.

"At the time of the grant reaching Madras, the troops we had lent to the Nizam were still in his pay and service in the Circars, and the Madras government with the concurrence of Lord Clive came to the decisive resolution of availing themselves in any event of the grant. Their forces were already on the spot to maintain or enforce the claim. War, however, was if possible to be avoided, treachery, chicane, and bribery were substituted as the safer instruments. Hussain Ally, the manager of the Subah, was in the first instance dealt with and successfully to betray the interest of his master and for the promise of a Jagheer (which was actually settled on him afterwards by the company) a promise of support and protection, and also of being continued in his reutership he agreed to act with the Company....Vizeramrauze was also brought over by assurances of lessening his rent and having traitorously delivered up the forts of Rajahmundry and Cossimcotah, which had been in his charge, he retired to his own Circar of Chicacole. In the meantime a deputation was sent to Hyderabad...The Soubah was as yet a stranger to the grant of the Mogul...The fort of Condipilla was seized upon..And by dint of money advanced to the Soubhah and presents to his ministers and officers his grant of the Circars was obtained."

. *A Short History of the East India Company.* pp. 67 68, by Francis Russell. He published previous to this book a *Collection of Statutes, Charters and Bye-laws of the East India Company.*

According to this treaty,¹³⁰ in return for the perpetual free gift of the Sarkars of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Mustafanagar and Murtizanagar, the Company agreed to assist the Nizam with a body of troops "to settle the affairs of His Highness' government in everything that is right and proper whenever required" with the proviso that they shall not be precluded from considering their own requirements before such assistance was given. The Company agreed to pay Nizam Ali the annual tribute of five lakhs of rupees for the three middlemost Sarkars and two more lakhs for each of the remaining two Sarkars of Chicacole and Murtizanagar when they come into their possession, thus making a total of nine lakhs by the time the articles of the treaty were completely carried into effect. The Company were to bring the Chicacole Sarkar into their custody and manage it on their own account. But, in view of former grants, Basalat Jang, Nizam Ali's younger brother was to have a life interest in the Sarkar of Murtizanagar as a personal *jagir*, on whose death the Company were to be possessed of it. The expenses of actual military assistance given in any year were to be deducted out of the annual tribute and the balance only to be paid to Nizam Ali. In case the expenses exceeded the annual tribute, Nizam Ali was to reimburse the Company to the

Francis Russel studied law at the Glasgow University and was admitted to the Lincoln's Inn in 1778. From 1763 till his death he held various posts under the Duchy of Lancaster, including those of Solicitor and Deputy Clerk of the Council. His special patron was Henry Dundas, and he probably assisted him in drafting the Bill of 1784 which established the India Board. He was thereupon appointed Solicitor to the India Board, the post he held till the remainder of his life. He was consequently consulted on legal points, and helped to frame the India act of 1763. He died on 1st September 1795 after a long illness. There is a portrait of his in the India Office (No, 378 of the 1924 Catalogue).

See; Foster William (later Sir), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Painting Statues etc. in the India Office*, p. 74.

On the inconsistencies of this treaty, Wilks had something trenchant to say. "But after thus seizing, under the direct authority of the Mogul, this extensive territory as an independent possession, it was deemed wise by the government of Madras, to send an Embassy to Nizam Ali, which negotiated a treaty, submitting to hold it as a free gift, and tributary dependency from this avowed inferior and equivocal deputy to whose exclusion it had been conferred and in despite (sic) of whom it had been seized. It is not here intended to discuss the suggestions which have been already mixed with our earlier investigations (already quoted in the text of the present thesis) regarding the moral or political force of either the authority or the act which has now been described, but to mark in all these transactions the vicious preference for ostensible dependence and the unprofitable and degrading tendency of political simulation".

Historical Sketches, Vol. I, p. 298.

130. See *Aitchison*, Vol IX. pp. 22-25. It is to be noted that the articles of the several treaties and engagements mentioned in this chapter are drawn upon as far as the Northern Sarkars are concerned.

extent of the deficit. The Sarkars were to be acquitted by Nizam Ali of "all arrears and demands" due to him and the Company left to manage them according to their unfettered discretion. The Company were to pay the tribute in three *kists*, for which Nizam should accept approved *sahukar* bills. The diamond mines in the Sarkars were to remain the property of Nizam Ali. The fort of Kondapalli was to be garrisoned by the Company's troops but Nizam Ali was to appoint his *kiladar* who was to enjoy the usual *jagir* attached to his office. Ali was to assist the Company whenever required and thus the treaty of "mutual favour, alliance and friendship" was concluded. Nizam Ali then delivered a formal *sanad* to the company ceding the Northern Sarkars.¹³¹

It will be seen from the above that the treaty did not mention the grant of the Emperor Shah Alam. Relations between Nizam Ali and the Madras government were greatly strained and a war only averted by a fresh treaty signed at Madras on 23 February 1768.¹³² The noteworthy features of this treaty are two. The first recognised the *nawab* of Arcot as a party to the treaty. The second was that the opening article made specific mention of the Mughal *farman* which the Nizam recognised and confirmed Basalat Jang's intrigues with Hyder Ali, the treaty maintained, gave the Company the right to take possession of the MurtaZanagar Sarkar, in the same manner as the Chicacole Sarkar was brought under the Company's administration. But as a mark of good faith, the Company willingly allowed Basalat Jang to enjoy it with the express proviso that he should forthwith renounce all correspondence with Hyder Ali. In case this article was infringed upon the Company would be free to take possession of the Sarkar, in which case Nizam Ali was to support them. The fort of Kondapalli including the *jagir* was to be the Company's property, notwithstanding any article to the contrary in the treaty of 1766. Nizam Ali agreed to direct Narayana Deo, the Raja of Kimidi, who declared his independence of the Company on the basis of an alleged *sanad* from him, as well as the other Rajas to obey the Company as their lawful masters. A material point in this treaty is that the tribute was reduced from seven to five lakhs of rupees for the four Northern Sarkars and two more for the Murtuzanagar Sarkar when the Company got possession of it, which was to be paid in two *kists*, instead of the previous three. On this point Madras wrote home: "We have also taken care to have the treaty so worded that the payment of this sum does not appear to be by virtue of our holding the Circars from the Soubaff but only in consideration of the friendship subsisting between us".¹³³

131. See *Aitchison* Vol IX pp. 25.27.

132. *Ibid* pp. 28-34.

133. *Madras Letters Received*, 4 March 1768. (Bourchier) para 12 Vol. III,

The Madras government was not altogether satisfied with its reversionary right to the Guntur Sarkar in accordance with the treaties of 1766 and 1768 and the retention of that district by Basalat Jang for his life. This Sarkar was important from a revenue standpoint. But the security of the other Northern Sarkars stood greatly jeopardised, if not actually imperilled, so long as Basalat Jang was open to the intrigues of the French whom he had employed in his service, and his territory to the encroachment of Hyder Ali from the south. Geographically, as well as traditionally, Guntur had always been linked up with its neighbouring Sarkars and its rendition to Basalat Jang had been a grievance of the Madras government since it broke the line of communications from Madras to Ganjam. Finally, its possession was deemed advantageous to check any treachery on the part of Nizam Ali. All these considerations impelled the Madras government constantly to endeavour to secure first its lease and finally its possession by the Company.

As early as June 1772, Hussain Ali struggled hard to obtain the lease of this Sarkar and thus extend his hegemony over the Sarkars in general. But Basalat Jang was extremely reluctant and Hussain Ali himself unable to procure the necessary money to substantiate his offers.¹³⁴ Before the end of 1772, the Madras government itself started direct negotiations with Basalat Jang for the renting of the Sarkar. A comprehensive statement of its revenues was prepared and one Mallu Pandit was deputed to open negotiations with him. But this mission also failed.¹³⁵ The anxiety of the government to procure the lease was all the more intensified in view of the fact that their soldiers and sepoy's were constantly deserting and seeking service with Basalat Jang. Even though a promise was obtained in 1773 from the latter that he would not in future entertain any of the Company's troops, no definite progress was made by the government in furtherance of their cherished object.¹³⁶ No further action was taken for the next two years.

134. See *Milit. Cons.* 8 June, 1772, containing the summary of a letter from Basalat Jang (*Country Correspondence* No. 110 for 1772) Vol. 71 pp. 449-52. Also *Masulipatam to Madras* 9 June, *idem.* pp. 458-60.

135. *Masulipatam, to Madras*, 8 July *Milit. Cons.* 20 July, Vol. 72, pp. 604-608. *same to same*, 16 July *idem.* 23 July *idem.* pp. 631-34; *same to same*, 27 July *idem.* 3 August *idem.* p. 637 and resolution of the government thereon, pp. 637-38. *Madras to Masulipatam*, 7 August *idem.* p. 644, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 12 August *idem.* 24 August *idem.* pp. 695-96; *Basalat Jang and Devi Chand to Madras*, (*Country Correspondence* Nos. 145 and 146 for 1772) and the resolution of the government thereon abandoning the subject for the time being, *idem.* p. 696.

136. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 14 March 1773 *idem.* 5 April Vol. 73 pp. 314-16 and resolution of the government thereon *idem.* pp. 316-17, and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 9 April *idem.* pp. 381-82.

In 1775, the menace from the French in the employ of Basalat Jang became serious. The Masulipatam Council urged upon the government to approach him with a view to procuring the dismissal of the French troops and the renting of Motupalli and the adjacent villages which would prevent the French from landing their troops.¹³⁷ The government, curiously enough, did not act on this proposal. But a couple of months later and on the instructions of the Bengal government, troops were actually marched to the frontiers of the Guntur Sarkar with a view to coerce Basalat Jang to countenancing the requests of the Masulipatam Council.¹³⁸

Meanwhile negotiations were started with Nizam Ali with a view to bring pressure to bear upon Basalat Jang.¹³⁹ Nizam Ali actually directed his brother to cease all connection with the French but the unfortunate dissensions in the Madras Council during the administration of Lord Pigot temporarily shelved the matter early in 1776.

The administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold once again brought the question of the Guntur Sarkar into the region of practical politics and gave it a very strange and perhaps unfortunate turn. Within three months of his taking office (July 1778 Rumbold's short lived treaty with Basalat Jang in 1779. Rumbold drew pointed attention to the French intrigues and proposed to threaten Basalat Jang with the forcible seizure of the Sarkar in case the Company's demands were not yielded by him.¹⁴⁰ A letter was consequently written to Nizam Ali and the commandant at Ongole was directed to stop all Europeans going into the Sarkar.¹⁴¹ Nizam Ali does not seem to have replied to this letter but Basalat Jang himself negotiated through his *vakil* for the rent of the Sarkar.¹⁴² The government sent certain proposals to Basalat Jang¹⁴³ and

137, *Same to same*, 20 May 1775 *Milit. Secret Proc.* 29 May, Vol. 78 pp. 738-41 Minutes of consultations *idem.* 5 June *idem.* p. 766 *Madras to Masulipatam* 13 June *idem.* p. 308 *Madras to Basalat, Jang* 13 June *idem.* p. 805 *Masulipatam to Madras* 27 June *idem.* 4 July *idem.* p. 913 and the resolution of the government thereon *idem.* p. 914.

N.B. Whenever the Bengal records are quoted they are definitely indicated with the prefix "Bengal". Otherwise the references are always to Madras records.

138. Consultations in *Milit. Secret Proc.* 7 August *idem.* p. 1,004, *idem.* 14 August *idem.* pp. 1,060 FF. Resolution of the government *idem.* p. 1,068 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 19 August *idem.* p. 1,088.

139, *Madras to Bengal*, 23 October *Milit. Secret Proc.* Vol. 79 p. 1,390 *same to same* 22 November *idem.* p. 1,485.

140, *Milit. Secret Proc.* 10 July 1778 Vol. 88 pp. 1,208 ff.

141, Resolution of the government *idem.* pp. 1,313-14.

142, Select Comm. Cons. 30 November 1778 Vol. 64 p. 688.

143, *Idem.* 22 December *idem.* p. 865.

requested* the permission of the Bengal government to negotiate a treaty with him.¹⁴⁴ Bengal gave the government a free hand in these transactions, subject to certain general reservations,¹⁴⁵ and a treaty was concluded between the Company and Basalat Jang in April 1779.

According to this treaty,¹⁴⁶ the Company were granted the rent of the Guntur Sarkar at a rate to be settled by agreement. The exclusion of the French was the most important concession gained by the Company while mutual protection of their own and Basalat Jang's interests was guaranteed. Any British troops stationed in the Sarkar were to be paid at the Company's rates and reimbursed out of the rent of the Sarkar in monthly instalments and the residue paid to Basalat Jang. In case the Sarkar was threatened with an invasion, the Company undertook to assist him with their troops on condition that he defrayed the ordinary and extra-ordinary expenses of the expedition. The Company further guaranteed that none of their servants would molest or interfere with the activities of the servants and *rai-yats* of Basalat Jang. The customary allowance of M. Ps. 5,000 a year was continued to the zamindars in the Sarkar. Basalat Jang was allowed to retain possession of the jagir and fort of Kondapalli but such a number of the Company's troops as may be deemed necessary were to be stationed with the *kiladar* of the fort for the protection of the Sarkar. On the other hand, Basalat Jang agreed to furnish the Company, whenever required, with a body of horse, the charges of which were to be borne by the Company.

But, this treaty was short-lived. The unfortunate rivalry between Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Rumbold and the equally disgusting Holland episode, completely estranged Nizam Ali from the Company. Hastings himself condemned Rumbold's treaty with Basalat Jang as having been "concluded and avowed without the participation of his immediate sovereign".¹⁴⁷ But it was forgotten that Bengal had sanctioned the treaty with certain reservations,¹⁴⁸ while Nizam Ali had not taken any interest at the moment. None the less, the Madras government sent aid to Basalat Jang against the encroachments of Hyder Ali.¹⁴⁹

This attitude of the Madras government evoked the enmity of both Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali, while Basalat Jang himself pleaded for the restitution of the Sarkar and the withdrawal of the assistance sent to

144. *Madras to Bengal*, 31 December, 1773 *Bengal Sel. Cons.* 29 January 1779, Vol. 49. p. 652.

145. *Bengal to Madras* 25 January. *idem.* p. 659.

146. *Aitchison*, Vol. IX pp. 40-42 which also contains the surrender order of Basalat Jang,

147. *Hastings* minute of 25 October 1779. *Beng. Sel. Cons.*, Vol. 52 p. 674.

148. Bengal had originally sanctioned this treaty on 21 April.

149. *Select Comm. Cons.* 19 April, Vol. 66, p. 84.

him. But, while complying with the latter part of Basalat Jang's requisition, the government did not feel disposed to return the Sarkar.¹⁵⁰ Strangely enough they had not informed the Bengal government that they had in October 1779 granted to the Nawab of Arcot the lease of the Sarkar for a period of ten years. Bengal wrote to Nizam Ali that the treaty had not infringed his rights as defined by the previous treaties of 1766 and 1768 but that, if he did not approve, they were prepared to surrender the Sarkar.¹⁵¹

At this stage Sir Thomas Rumbold left for England just before the Madras government had suspended Holland from his residency at Hyderabad, he had written to Bengal that the attitude of Nizam Ali was clearly hostile to the Company, that the restitution of the Sarkar alone could bring him round and that he was willing to guarantee that the French would not be permitted to have any dealings, military or otherwise, in the Sarkar.¹⁵² The Bengal government while confirming Holland in the residency directed Madras to restore the Sarkar to Basalat Jang.¹⁵³ They argued that when they granted permission to the Rumbold government to negotiate the treaty they had never supported that Nizam Ali could be ignored in the discussions.

They further believed that since Basalat Jang was unable to perform his obligations to the Company, there could be no breach of treaty in such a restoration. In view of the fact that the Company reserved to itself the reversionary right to the Sarkar after the death of Basalat Jang there was no immediate advantage in continuing its possession under the treaty which had been the cause of so much trouble in South India. As such, they forthwith directed Holland to intimate to Nizam Ali with their decision to restore the Sarkar to Basalat Jang.¹⁵⁴

The Madras government were still unwilling to take any action on the directions of the Bengal government. After a considerable amount of discussion and vacillation, Samuel Johnson urging upon the restoration while General Munro objecting to it and only by the casting vote of the President Whitehill, the Guntur Sarkar was restored to Basalat Jang, three clear months after the receipt of the Bengal instructions. This restoration had an immediate effect on the politics of Nizam Ali who quitted the confederacy he had formed against the Company.¹⁵⁵ For this delay

150. *Madras to Bengal*, 18 February 1780. *Bengal Sel. Cons.* 20 March Vol. 55 pp. 8-9.

151. *Bengal to Holland*, 20 March, 1780. *Ben. Sel. Cons.* Vol. 55 pp. 28-30.

152. *Holland to Bengal* 12 May *Bengal Sel. Cons.* 12 June Vol. 55 p. 400.

153. *Bengal to Madras* 12 June *idem* 421-26.

154. *Bengal to Holland*, 12 June 1780. *Bengal Sel. Cons.* Vol. 55 p. 428.

155. Madras read the Bengal instructions in *Sel Comm. Cons.* 17 July Vol. 1 p. 967. Johnson's minute 2 August, *idem.* p. 1,151, Munro's minute 7 August *idem.*

in the execution of their orders and for other acts of insubordination, the Bengal government suspended Whitehill from his office of President and Governor of Fort St. George.¹⁵⁶

In July, 1781, Warren Hastings forwarded a lengthy despatch to the Madras government advocating the complete retrocession of all the Sarkars to Nizam Ali.¹⁵⁷ As has been already shown, he considered the grant of Shah Alam (1775) to be so weak no better than a "pretension". He argued that according to the information supplied by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Common in 1773, the net advantage to the Company from the possession of the four Northern Sarkars was only Rs. 43,310 a year in times of peace a paltry consideration when compared to the anxiety and responsibility entailed in their administration. He wrote that the "extent of the Circars... is like the definition of a mathematical line. length without breadth", and hence could not be of much value to the Company. He proceeded to demonstrate that the Company's investment, which was the primary motive for their acquisition had gone down considerably after they had become possessed of the Sarkars. He quoted the despatch of the Court of Directors dated 17 March, 1769 directing the Madras government to confine their activities to the Carnatic and not to dabble with the affairs of the Sarkars which at best could only serve "as a barrier to our Bengal possessions and the depression of the French power in the Carnatic."

Warren Hastings strongly emphasised the fact that the Sarkars were weakly defended and were always at the mercy of Nizam Ali and their retrocession would be "the sacrifice of nothing but a name." He then formulated the following set of proposals for the consideration of Lord Macartney and his Council at Madras.

(1) Nizam Ali should be desired to send a body of horse to assist the Company in the Carnatic whenever required.

(2) The Company were to retain such factories, forts and ports in the Sarkars as were in their possession prior to the treaty of 1768.

(3) In all matters connected with future wars in South India, the opinion and plans of the government were to prevail over those of Nizam Ali.

p. 1,166. Resolution of the government, 6 September, Vol. 2 p. 1394. and *Madras to Bengal* 2 September, *Bengal Sel. Cons.* 2 October Vol. 56 p. 432.

156. *Holland to Bengal* 3 September *Bengal Sel. Cons.* 2 October Vol. 56 p. 437.

Governor-General's minute suspending Whitehill 10 October *idem* pp. 530, 44.

157. *Warren Hastings to Charles Smith*, 2 July 1781 later on forwarded to Lord Macartney with the Governor-General's letter of 7 July. *Home Miscellaneous Series*, Vol. 246. p. 183 and pp. 187-98.

(4) Nizam Ali should not permit any European nations other than the English to establish factories or land troops in the Sarkars.

(5) In consideration of the retrocession of the Sarkars and while acknowledging "his right to the arrears of Peshcush due to the time of his taking possession, the government do nevertheless request that he will forego to claim in and grant the Company an acquittal of the same for ever".

Lord Macartney totally disagreed with the views of Warren Hastings. His Lordship wrote:¹⁵⁸ "The retrocession of the Circars, once so precious in our estimation, by a voluntary offer to the Nizam when we are involved in a tedious and expensive war, might argue not only unsteadiness of councils but inability of defence without gaining us any credit for justice or moderation, a character less to be obtained by the disposal of that which we possess without actual dispute, than by avoiding to contend for advantages to which we cannot claim a right". He discounted all fears from an aggressive attitude of Nizam Ali who "appears to act with perfect neutrality". He quoted more recent figures than those of 1773 to show that the Sarkars were adequately defended by the Company's troops and argued that "the narrowness of the Circars facilitate our protection of them".

His Lordship considered the possession of the Sarkars to be of such value that if it came to the question of choosing between them and the Carnatic he would certainly prefer the former. The Sarkars were "our own immediate property", whereas in the Carnatic the Nawab of Arcot only submitted to the influence of the Company with great reluctance: "The Circars, besides, approach nearer to our great and important possessions in India, which are under your immediate command," meaning thereby the province of Bengal. "Treaties are for the most part maintained by a sense of mutual advantage in upholding or by a dread of infringing them. We should lose in the opinion entertained of our wisdom as well as in our wealth and power, if we are to cede a valuable, solid, permanent possession for the hollow friendship and precarious alliance of an oriental prince." He demonstrated that the revenues of the Sarkars were considerably greater than the estimates of Warren Hastings, that no

158. *Macartney-Warren Hastings* (private No 3) 10 August 1781. *Home Miscellaneous Series* Vol 246 pp, 199-207.

The enclosures to this letter include a statement of the rents of the Sarkars from 1766 to 1780 and a note relative to the revenues for 1781 (pp 211-13) a statement of the sums of the value of coastal goods shipped in connection with the Company's investment in the Sarkars for the period 1762-1780 (pp. 223-24) a note on the military establishment of the Sarkars and its expenses (p. 227) and, finally, a statement of the total military disbursements for January 1781 in connection with the management of the Sarkars (p. 231).

• See also extracts from *Macartney to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors*, 28 September *idem*. pp. 145-46 reiterating the arguments used in his letter to Warren Hastings.

material deduction would result in the military charges of the troops maintained for the protection of the Company's investment in the Sarkars in case they were restored to Nizam Ali and that the Company's investment had not fallen off when compared with its state prior to the acquisition of these coastal districts. Finally, he pointed out that the retrocession would endanger the recovery of the current *jama* and the outstanding balances from the zamindars and renters.

These arguments once for all determined the future of the Sarkars and all ideas of their retrocession were completely abandoned.

Basalat Jang died in 1782 and Nizam Ali retained possession of the Guntur Sarkar in contravention of the conditions of the treaties of 1766 and 1768. Consequently the Madras government withheld its tribute for the remaining Sarkars.¹⁵⁹ Lord Cornwallis arrived in India with definite orders for the recovery of the Guntur Sarkar. But it was not till 1788

Death of Basalat Jang and final acquisition of the Guntur Sarkar.

that he deemed it safe for any definite move in this matter.¹⁶⁰ While Captain Kennaway, who was appointed resident at Hyderabad and directed to negotiate with Nizam in connection with matters of grave importance, was still on his way to the Nizam's Court, Cornwallis sent a despatch after him instructing him to proceed forthwith with the demand for the restoration of the Sarkar. When once the Nizam knew of the strong views held by Cornwallis, he voluntarily surrendered the Sarkar to Captain Kennaway, on 18th September 1788.¹⁶¹ After allowing for the irregular collections of the Nizam from this Sarkar the Company's arrears of Peshkush stood at Rs. 9,16,668.¹⁶² Several treaties were afterwards concluded between the Nizam and the Company¹⁶³ but it was only after the treaty of 1831 that the annual payments to the Nizam were capitalised at a sum of R-. 1,66,66,666 by which the

159. Briggs; *The Nizam*, Vol 1 p. 192.

160. *Minute of Lord Cornwallis*, 16 June 1788 and instructions to Capt Kennaway, Charles Ross; *Correspondence of Charles first Marquis Cornwallis* Vol, 1 Appendix XXIII pp. 530-31.

See also, *Cornwallis to the Nizam*, 7 July, later deemed as a treaty by the House of Commons. *Aitchison*, Vol. IX pp. 42-46.

161 See also, for the order Nizam's voluntarily surrendering the Sarkar to Capt, Kennaway, see *Aitchison* Vol. IX p. 420.

Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, 3 November. Ross; *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. 1 Appendix No. XXIV pp. 532-36.

162 *Aitchison*: Introduction to Vol. IX. p. 3.

163. Treaties between the Nizam and the Company not specifically relative to the Guntur Sarkars were those of 4 July 1790, 1 September 1798, 13 July 1799, 12 October 1800, Commercial treaty of 12 April 1802, dealing with certain ports in the Sarkars, particularly Masulipatam: 28 April 1804, and 12 December 1822. All in *Aitchison* Vol. IX pp. 46-92.

Nizam's government was temporarily extricated from grave financial scandals.¹⁶⁴ With this transaction, the five Northern Sarkars became the unquestioned possessions of the East India Company and were never again claimed by the Nizam.

164. *Aitchison*, Introduction to Vol. IX p. 7.

Information regarding the liquidation of the *peskash* arrears and the future commutation of the same is obscure and conflicting. Thus, while Aitchison maintains that it was only after the treaty of 1881 that the commutation was settled, other authorities contend that it had been arranged for as early as 1823.

Keye's life of Lord Metcalfe does not help us in this respect.

It is only fitting that I should here recall the large debts owed by the Nizam and several of his Courtiers to companies like Palmer and Company and other individual Europeans.

These affairs are very interesting and would fill the pages of a considerable monograph.

(To be continued).

NEW LIGHT ON THE KAKATIYAS. 1

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Many aspects of Kakatiya history have yet to be known and much valuable information regarding them is confined to innumerable stone inscriptions and manuscripts lying unknown in the Telingāna part of the Nizām's dominions. An attempt is made in these pages to throw new light on some of the problems connected with the early history of the Kakatiya dynasty, as obtained from the sources mentioned above.

Community—The community of the Kakatiyas has been a matter of much dispute. The authorities that throw light on this problem are various and mutually contradicting. Some inscriptions of the time of Ganapati, like the Motupalli, Pakhāla and Conjeevaram records,² mention the Kakatiyas as kshatriyas of the *Solar* race. In direct contrast to this, the Dantēsvaram inscription of the time of Raja Dikpālādēva³ ascribes to them a *Lunar* origin. The former version is found only in the inscriptions of Ganapati and that too in those dated after his conquest of the East Coast. Most of the Kakatiya records are content with calling them as such. Even the poet Vidyānātha, the protégée of Pratāparudra, calls his patron a member of the *super-solar-lunar* race.⁴ In the Anumakonda record of Kākati Rudra also, which professes to describe the family of the Kakatiyas, this general nomenclature is retained.⁵ Apart from these royal records, many others belonging to the relatives and subordinates of these kings are of immense value to us, in this connection. The Kakatiyas were members of the Durjaya family and had close matrimonial relations with many other families like the Kōtas and Natavādīs who were also descended from the same ancestor, and were members of the fourth caste.⁶ An inscription from Būdapūr in Hyderabad state, belong-

1 The problems discussed in this paper have been included in my introduction to the "Telingana Inscriptions".

2 E.I; XII p. 188, Hyd. Arch. series No. 4, I.A. XXI p. 197.

3 E.I. IX p. 168.

4 అశ్వశైలంకుల ప్రతిమసృజనం కాకతీయస్వయం॥ Prataparudhijam

5 శ్రీమద్రామరేఖ్యరస్యమునలే రవ్యకావలిం వర్ణయే॥

ప్రతిభావన మల్లారాజా కాశ్యపంశసంధాత॥

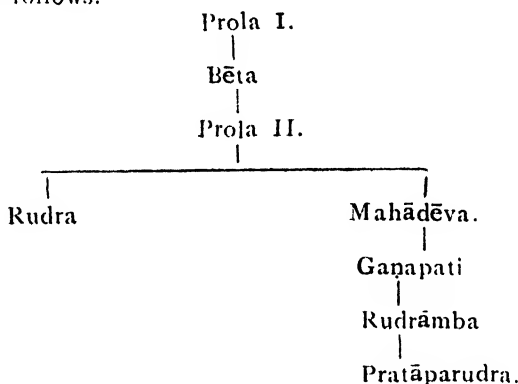
ll. 19-20:

6 E.I. VI p. 159. Ibid p. 84.

See also my paper "Some interesting facts about the Kakatiyas" in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III pts. 2, 3 and 4.

ing to Malyāla Gundaya, a general of Ganapati, states in clear and unequivocal terms, that the Kakatiya family belonged to the fourth caste.⁷

Genealogy—The earlier part of the Kakatiya genealogy is obscure. Many records of this family begin the ancestry with Prōla II while a few like the two Anumakonda inscriptions⁸ and the Ēkāmrānātha and Chēbrolu records,⁹ mention a Bēta alias *Tribhuvanamalla* before him. This Bēta is considered to have been the earliest member of the Kakatiya family. It is now possible to push the genealogy back by a generation. The Mōtupalli inscription¹⁰ mentions a Prōla before Bēta and the former's identity can now be established with certainty, on the basis of records from the Nizam's dominions. One inscription from Kazipet makes mention of Prola, son of Bēta¹¹ and another from the same place makes this Bēta son of Pōlalarasa.¹² From the Pillalamarri and Pālampet inscriptions,¹³ it is known that a certain Bamma defeated a Chōla king, on behalf of his Kakatiya overlord. Bamma's great-grand-son Kāma was a general of Prola II.¹⁴ Evidently Bamma's suzerain must have preceded Bēta. It is reasonable, then, to identify the earlier Prola of the Motupalli inscription with the Pōlalarasa of the Kazipet record and also with the overlord of Bamma and call him Prola I. This fact construed with the accounts given in numerous other records would render the genealogy of the Kakatiyas as follows.—



7 చత్వారాజకళ్యాణస్తోత్రాస్థానములందుఁ

ll. 17—19.

తేనంహీమయమహిమం మహిత- మురీయోవర్ణ కృమఃపృసవహూని రతివసిద్ధః।

Tel Ins. p. 53. ll—19—20

8 I. A. XI p. 10, E.I. IX p. 165.

9 I.A. XXI p. 197, E.I. VI p. 142

10 B. I. XII p. 188

11 దేవ నరేంద్రః తత్పత్రః ప్రాచీనపుట Tel. Ins. Kak. 1. 11—13—13.

12 ♦ ♦ ♦ కాకతీయ దేవే శనం తన్నతన్దేమహిమం ద తత్వరం హాళలరస॥

Ibid No. 2 ll—17—19

13 Ibid No. 9 ll. 10—13. Hyd. Arch. series No. 8 ll 34—38. This point has been discussed in my paper 'The Recherla family' Vide J.A.H.R.S. vol. V pt. 3, pp 139-150

14 Ibid.

Chronology—Several Kakatiya records from Hyderabad State facilitate the determination of the earlier chronology of the family and bring in many alterations in that of the later rulers. The reign of Pratāparudra, is considered to have begun in, A. D. 1296. Inscriptions from Panagal,¹⁵ Ganapavaram¹⁶ and Mānūr¹⁷ give for this monarch, dates corresponding to A. D. 1291, 1292 and 1294 respectively. Fresh light is also thrown on the commencement of the reign of Rudrāmba. Current opinion is that this queen began to rule immediately after the death of her father Ganapati in A. D. 1260. But the Malkapur inscription refutes this opinion by mentioning that Ganapati was alive in A. D. 1261. While editing this record,¹⁸ Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu has formulated a theory of abdication by Ganapati in the previous year. He could not find any other way of explaining the presence of both father and daughter in the same grant and especially the latter figuring as a ruling sovereign. It is now possible to prove that this theory is untenable and to give a more satisfactory solution of the peculiarity. At Būruguggadda in the Hyderabad State,¹⁹ there is an inscription which records a gift by a subordinate of the queen in A. D. 1258. It cannot possibly be argued that Ganapati's abdication took place in this year, because his records range up to A. D. 1260 and 1261. The only alternative is to suppose that the father and daughter were ruling conjointly between 1258 and 1261. Vidyānātha supports this conclusion. Further, such rule is not unparalleled in Kakatiya history. Rudrāmba and her grandson Pratapa-rudra were so ruling between 1290 and 1296 A. D. The reign of Ganapati is known from other sources to have commenced *de-jure* in A.D. 1199²⁰ and ended in A. D. 1261, the date of the Malkāpūr inscription. His father Mahādeva is known to have had a short and feeble reign which obviously ended in A. D. 1199; but the initial year of the reign has to be determined by the last regnal year of Rudra. An inscription from

15 ... శ్రీ కాకతీయ సమ్రాట్ కేవల మహారాజా జయ పృథ్వీరాజ్యము సేయుచుండగా

II. 11—12

స్వస్తి శ్రీకళకవలములు ౧౨౦౩ అవు...

II 15. Tel. Ins. Kak. No. 35.

16 ... శకవరషములు ౧౨౦౪ అవు

II 2—3

శ్రీ మన్మహమండలేశ్వర వ్రతాప కమార యద్రదేవ మహారాజు పృథ్వీరాజ్యము సేయుచుండగాను.

II 6—10.

17 Tel. Ins. 43 Kak. Ibid No. 45.

18 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV pt. 3 and 4 p. 151.

19 ... శ్రీ మన్మహమండలేశ్వర కాకతీయ యద్రదేవ మహారాజు పృథ్వీరాజ్యము సేయుచుండగాను..... శ్రీ కుభశకవలములు ౧౨౦౦ II 3—5

Pillalmarri²¹ mentions that Rudra was ruling in A. D. 1195 and no later records of this king are available. Hence Mahādēva's reign must be dated between A. D. 1195 and 1199. Regarding the initial year of Rudra himself, a Drakshārāma record²² gives the date A. D. 1158 and no earlier one is known. Thus his reign would be between A.D. 1158 and 1195. The Canarese inscription at Anumakonda gives the stray date of A. D. 1117 for Prola II.²³ A record from Mātēru in Hyderabad State²⁴ mentions him in A. D. 1119, while another epigraph also speaks of him in A. D. 1115.²⁵ We might therefore suppose that he ruled between A. D. 1115 and 1158. The dates of the first two ancestors of the Kakatiyas have got to be determined on the basis of their position in the geneology. Calculating, then, at the rate of thirty years a generation, from the date of Prola II, we might approximately fix their time. The following would then be the chronology of the Kakatiyas—

1. Prola I	1050—1080.	A.D.	5. Mahādēva	1195—1199.	A.D.
2. Beta	1080—1115.	„	6. Ganapati	1199—1261.	„
3. Prola II	1115—1158.	„	7. Rudramba	1258—1296.	„
4. Rudra	1158—1195.	„	8. Pratāparudra ²⁶	1290—1326.	

Origin—The origin and rise of the Kakatiyas to power has been a mystery. It is however possible to gather a number of stray evidences bearing on this point. Traditional histories seem to indicate that the Kakatiyas were migrants to the neighbourhood of Anumakonda.²⁷ There is a village called *Kāguti* in the Mysore State. Another set of traditions connects this family with Gangāpūr in the Mahaboobnagar district. A record from Gūdūr in the Warangal district mentions that Kakati Beta was instituted lord of the Koravi country.²⁸ An Eastern Chalukyan grant of 10th century A. D. mentions a Kākartya-Gunda.²⁹ We know from it that Amma II marched against the Kalinga country in his eleventh regnal year and that about that time, his brother and regent Dānārṇava addressed this grant to the inhabitants of the Natavāti-Vishaya at the instance of Kākartya-Gunda alias Gundyana, son of Eriya-Rashtrakūta

21 ... విశ్వంభరాంశాసతి గుర్రదేవే..... 11 5-6.

..... శక వరుషములు ౧౦౦౨ 11 31. Tel. Ins. No. 7 Kak.

22 S.I.I. IV No. 1107

23 E.I. IX p. 256.

24 Tel. Ins. No. 54 Kak.

25 E.R. No. 816 of 1915

26 Tel. Ins. D 6 and Ins. oed. No. 135 give the date A.D. 1290, while E.R. No. 308 of 1915 and an unpublished inscription in the L.R. of Hampi give A. D. 1326 for the close of Pratāparudra's reign.

27 Pratapacharitam.

28 దేశముధాధిపుడేని నానివై న ద్విగ్రహన జంపియ భావిదేశ మునంపే పృథ్వీనా

11. 14-16. Tel. Ins. No. 55 Kak.

29 The Nandigama C. P. Grant.

and grandson of Gundiya-Rashtrakūta. The importance of this grant is obvious. It records the earliest known form of the word "Kakatiya." This word appears variously as Kakēta, Kākatya, Kākati and Kākatiya, in many inscriptions of this dynasty. The suffix "Rashtrakūta" after the names of the father and grandfather of Gundyana is also of much significance. It might be taken to mean that these individuals were holding the position of the "Rashtrakūta" or village headman. One might note in this connection, that the Rāshtrakūta figures invariably in many copper-plate grants.³⁰ Gundyana however, does not bear that suffix but has "Kākantya" added before his name. He is also said to have had much influence with the Chalukyan king. Associating these facts with the stray evidences, mentioned above, one might suppose that the family of Gundyana originally migrated from the village Kāgati, found good fortune in the Vengi country and that when he became a man of note, Gundyana assumed the name of his native village, as surname. The mention of Kakartya-Gunda is of the utmost significance because, he would now be the earliest ancestor of the Kakatiya family. The date of this C.P. grant would be A.D. 956.³¹ Thus we arrive at a very important starting point for the history of the Kakatiyas. Amma II's reign ended in troubles and confusion by 973 A.D. The Chalukyan throne was usurped after him by Bādapa who ruled till 999 A.D. and was himself replaced by Saktivarman. An ambitious chieftain like Kākartya-Gunda must have taken advantage of this prolonged confusion between A.D. 970 and 999 and acquired much power and influence. We may therefore call him founder of the Kākatiya family and assign him to the period 940-990 A.D.

Prola I.—The reign of Prola I. (1050-1080) marks the second stage in the progress of the Kakatiya house. The only known incident in this reign is the fight with the Choda king of Kānchi.³² Contemporary history yields much useful information in interpreting this event.³³ There was confusion and disorder in the Vengi country immediately after the death of Raja Raja the great. His son Rajendra made Vijayaditya the half-brother of the dispossessed monarch, the ruler of Vengi and himself went over to South India. Vijāyaditya in turn installed his own son Saktivarman, over Vengi and returned to Nolambavādi over which he ruled as a Western Chalukyan feudatory. Saktivarman met with a

30 రాష్ట్రకూట ప్రభుభాన్ సర్వకటుంబి నస్సమాచుయం.....

31 The Padakaluru grant I.A. VII p. 15 and the Nandigama C.P. grant.

32 The Palampet and Pillalamarri inscriptions ascribe this achievement to Prola's general Bamma.

33 This account of contemporary Chalukyan history is based mainly upon my friend, Mr. B. V. Krishnarao's 'History of Rajahmundry' and Mr. C. Vinabhadra Rao's 'Life and Times of Kulottunga, both of which have appeared in the Society's journal,

sudden death and before his father Vijayāditya could come to Vengi, the Chola king Virarājendra invaded and occupied it. At this critical juncture Vijayaditya sought the help of the Eastern Gangas, the western Chalukyas and prince Rajendra, his nephew. Besides these, a number of local chieftains also took part in repelling the Chola invader as the many inscriptions at Draksharama, recording oaths of allegiance, indicate.³⁴ We may suppose that Prola I's general Bamma took part in this campaign, pursued the retreating Chola to his capital and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. Otherwise it is not possible to explain how the Kakatiyas in the north of the Dekkan could have come into conflict with the Chola of the distant south.

After prince Rajendra's accession to the Chola throne with the title *Kulōttunga*, the Vengi country came to be governed by his sons as viceroys. This gave the signal to the rise of a number of minor powers within the Vengi country, while the Chalukyas practically lost control over the country north of the Godavary.³⁵ This part, then, fell into the hands of Prola I, who probably founded a small principality in and round Koravi.³⁶

Beta—The third phase in the expansion of the Kakatiyas is marked by the reign of Beta, about which very little has been known till now. An inscription from Gūdūr in the Nizam's dominions mentions that a certain Er̥ṣa of the Durjaya family instituted Beta over the Koravi country, after his enemy. Er̥ṣa's wife Kāmasāni made Beta the *Kākati-Vallabha* after defeating Pallavarāya and Bhaskara Chakravarti and killing a Kādavanāyaka.³⁷ It is not at present possible to identify these chieftains. The epithet 'Kākati Vallabha' is of paramount importance to us because it connects Beta with Kakartya Gunda and Prola I who also bear the same title. Kakati Beta had also the titles of *Chalamartiganda Durjayakulābdhi chandra*, *Muhānintalesvara*, and *Anumakonda puravarādhīsvara*.³⁸ At some time during the course of his reign, Beta came into conflict with Vikramaditya VI of Kalyan and was obliged to become his feudatory. This added the Sēbbi 1000 district to the principality of Beta³⁹ which till then extended round about Koravi. The military campaigns of Beta's son Prola II created the consolidated Kakatiya kingdom while the untiring zeal of Rudra and Ganapati transformed it into the great Empire of the Andhras.⁴⁰

34 S.I.I. IV Nos. 1269—1275.

35 Tel. Ins. No. 12 Miscellaneous indicates that the Eastern Chalukyan dominion extended up to Koravi in the Warangal Dt. even in the time of Chalukya Bhima I.

36 Prola's son Beta is known to have been made king of Koravi. Probably this was a restoration. Vide Tel. Ins. No. 55 Kak.

37 Ibid. 38 Tel. Ins. No. 2 Kak

39 The Canarese inscription at Anumakonda E.I, IX p. 256

40 For an account of this subsequent expansion of the Kakatiyas, see my "Political History of the Kakatiyas" in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V. pt. 4 onwards,

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Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

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PRATAPA RUDRA II AND THE MOHAMMADAN INVADERS.

GURTY VENKET RAO, M.A. LL.B.

On the eve of the Mohammadan invasions of the Deccan, India south of the Vindhyas was divided into four well-marked kingdoms. The Western Deccan or the Mahārastra with its capital at Devagiri was under the great Yādava Prince Ramachandra or Ramadeo who ruled from A. D. 1271 to A. D. 1309-10. The eastern part of the Deccan and the Telingana coast were ruled by Pratapa Rudra II of the Kākatiya dynasty with capital at Warangal from A. D. 1291 to A. D. 1323. The southern frontier of these two kingdoms came to almost a line drawn from Goa to the mouth of the Northern Pennar. The whole country south of this line constituted the two kingdoms of the Hoyasalas and the Pandya, with their capitals respectively at Dwarasamudra and Madura. The Hoyasala king at the time was Vira Ballala III who ruled from A. D. 1291 to A. D. 1342. Mānavarman Kulasekhara I was at the head of the Pandyan territories during the period from A. D. 1268 to A. D. 1311. Besides these great kings, there was a large number of petty chieftains subordinate to one or the other of them.

The economic condition of all these states was very admirable. The kings and their subjects possessed great riches. The coffers of the rulers were full of gold, diamonds and pearls. Agriculture and commerce, arts and learning were in a flourishing state. The capital cities were great centres of trade and culture. The great sea-ports of Kāyal and Motupalli were visited by numerous merchants from Arabia, Persia and China. Hence the Coromandel Coast was called Ma'bar in Arabic which means a 'passage'. In the words of Abdulla Wassaf (A. D. 1328)

"Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parsangs along the sea-coastThe curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of water, always arrived there."¹ The above description fully supports what Marco Polo had observed some thirty years earlier regarding the economic prosperity of the South Indian Kingdoms. He wrote that the people of Ma'bar were born traders. There were vast accumulations of wealth in the royal treasuries, for when the king died none of his successors touched the wealth he had stored up, but handed it on to their children. In the Telingana were made the finest muslins and other costly fabrics: "In sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no king nor queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and the great abundance of all the necessities of life."² It was under the administration of 'a lady of much descretion³As she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever Lady or Lord of theirs before."⁴

In religion it was the palmy days of Hinduism. From very ancient times, every South Indian ruler considered it meritorious to build temples and to endow them richly. The Kākatīyas were not an exception to this general tendency. As late as A. D. 1162 we find Rudra or Prataparudra I constructing the famous 1000 pillared temple at Anumakonda. The famous temples at Mahabalipuram, Kanchi, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Madura and other places in the south bear testimony to the pious activities of generations of rulers. These temples were great centres of learning and culture where knowledge was imparted to pupils of distant lands. Their accumulated wealth was the pride of South India and a constant source of temptation to the Mohammadan invaders of the north. There was complete religious toleration, and even Moslem merchants were allowed to build their own mosques and pursue their own callings without any interference on the part of the Hindu rulers of the country.

But unfortunately this harmonious development of the land was occasionally marred by the political dissensions and bitter warfare among the various kings. The Kākatīyas with the Yādavas, the Yādavas with the Hoyasalas, and the Hoyasalas with the Pandyas carried on generations

1. Abū'ulla Wassaf's *Tajjīyatul Ansar* etc. (Elliot's History of India, Vol. III p. 22).

2. Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol II p. 351.

3. Rudramba Devi, who about A.D. 1291 raised her grandson Pratap Rudra II to the throne and retired.

4. Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II p. 360.

of warfare with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Their mutual animosity had taken such a deep root that even in the face of foreign invasions they could not dream of setting aside their quarrels and presenting a united front to their common foe. Each of them was a silent witness of the ruin of the other till all of them were swept away by the torrential invasions of the Mohammadans.

Northern India, which had been more divided than the south had given a better account of itself when the Mahammadans swept down upon the rich plains of the Punjab through the Kyber pass between the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era. Thrice the kings of Lahore brought together the rulers of Hindustan in defence of their country, their honour and their religion. In A. D. 981 King Jaipāl of Lahore joined the Chandel and Pratihara princes in opposing the invading forces of Islam. About a quarter of a century later his patriotic son Anandapal organised a confederacy of "the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalingai, Delhi and Ajmer. The Gakkhars also joined them in great strength. The Hindu females sold their jewels and sent the proceeds from distant parts to supply their husbands with necessaries. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by spinning cotton and other labour."⁵ Again in A.D. 1014, Trilochanapal, son of Anandapal, rallied the Hindus "from Hindustan, Sindh and all quarters" for a struggle with the formidable foreign foe.

No doubt such patriotic efforts failed to preserve the ancient Hindu dynasties of Northern India or to protect the liberties of their subjects. But all the same, it was a heroic failure not to be found in the annals of the Deccan and South India during the triumphant march of the armies of Islam right across the Indian peninsula.

However, the Kākatiyas are famous in South Indian History for their deeds of valour and charity, and among the Kākatiyas the name of Pratapa Rudra II occupies a pre-eminent position. He is one of the most romantic characters of South India. His name conjures up a vision of heroic struggle to save his country from the repeated devastating raids of the Mohammadans. One king after another bowed his head to the inevitable fate of defeat and humiliation at the hands of the followers of Islam. But Pratapa Rudra maintained the struggle single handed for nearly two decades, and although ultimately he too lost his kingdom, his liberty and even his life, his courageous stand has immortalised his name in the annals of South India. In character and achievement, he might be ranked with Vikramaditya VI or Kulōttunga I; but unfortunately he had no Bilhana or Jayamkondar to celebrate his deeds of valour.

Whatever details we have about his wars with the Mohammadans they all come from the historians of the enemies of his faith. In those days everything was subordinated to religion and the Moslem chroniclers did not hesitate to garble facts to glorify the deeds of their patrons. Hence, only one sided version of Pratapa Rudra II's dealings with his Mohammadan foes is available, and we have to make use of it for what it is worth in the absence of other materials on the subject.

Of all the Cis-Vindhyan Powers, the Kākatiyas appear to have been more conscious of the danger of foreign invasions. About the middle of the 13th century A. D., Ganapati began to construct a stone-wall for the protection of his capital city, and his daughter, Queen Rudramba⁶ (A.D. 1261 to A.D. 1291), not only completed it, but also surrounded it with an outer wall of mud. The circumference of the stone wall was 4 miles and 630 yards. The diameter of the area enclosed by the mud wall was 2 miles which was occupied by the city of Warangal. Pratapa Rudra II, grandson of Queen Rudramba, appears to have made further improvements, for we are told by Amir Khusrū that "on all sides of it, for the distance of two miles there were fountains and gardens, calculated to gratify those who are in search of pleasure. All its fruits were Mangoes. Plantains, and Jacks. All the flowers were Hindu; the Champa, Keora and Jasmin."⁷ Referring to the strength of these fortifications, the same author wrote in another work: "The wall of Arangal was made of mud, but so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a Western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with."⁸

Pratapa Rudra II became king in the late time of his talented grandmother, who appears to have abdicated the throne in his favour about A.D. 1291. Rudramba was a lady of extraordinary attainments in the arts of war and peace, and if training and association count anything in building up the character of a man, we may presume that under her able guidance the young prince grew up into a fine soldier and an accomplished statesman. He peacefully came into possession of a large territory and vast treasures. No revolution, no palace intrigue and no foreign wars marred the smoothness of his accession to the throne. Everything presaged a prosperous reign. Indeed for over a decade he was left undisturbed to carry on the government of the country and to secure happiness of his subjects. Then all of a sudden the Mohammadans began to knock at his gates, and he was compelled to spend the remaining years of his reign in devising means for the preservation of his state and religion.

6. Called in her inscriptions Rudra-deva Maharaj.

7. Amir Khusrū: Nub Sipahr (Elliot, III p. 559).

8. Amir Khusrū: Tarikh-i-Alai (Elliot, III p. 80).

It was in A. D. 1302 that the Kākatiya kingdom was pitched upon for an attack by Alauddin Khilji. As a prince he had carried out a daring raid into the heart of the Deccan, and had extorted from Kāmadeva of Devagiri immense riches in gold, silver, pearls and diamonds, as well as a promise of an annual tribute from the revenues of Elichpur. All this wealth was exhausted in securing the crown of Delhi by murdering his own uncle!; and the abnormal circumstances of his reign kept him in perpetual need of money. But, for the present, there was nothing to be gained by a repetition of his raid into the territory of Devagiri. Hence, with a view to tap new sources, he despatched Fakuruddin Janna and Malik Chhajju with a large force to invade the territories of the Kākatiya king, Pratapa Rudra II. The imperial army was directed to march through the unexplored regions of Bengal and Orissa. Unfortunately no detailed account of its movements has been preserved; but the expedition was no doubt a failure. Barani accounting for this failure tells us that "on their arrival there the rainy season began, and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing, and in the beginning of winter returned, greatly reduced in number, to Hindustan." He does not appear to have recorded the whole truth: the failure of the Mohamadans might as well have been due to the strong fortifications of Warangal and the energetic action of its Hindu Lord.

However, this campaign was but a prelude to others. From the days of Alauddin's first enterprise across the Vindhyan range, the gates of Southern India were never closed. The internal revolts and the external invasions drained his exchequer and he had to make tremendous efforts to recoup his treasury. A slight deviation from the path of loyalty was seized upon as a pretext to collect money in the shape of fines and forfeitures. Kāmadeva's failure to send to Delhi the revenues of Elichpur was treated as an act of rebellion, and in A. D. 1307 Malik Kafur was deputed to punish the delinquent and seize his treasures. Kafur reached Devagiri and laid waste the country round about it. He defeated the Hindus, captured a vast booty and took Kāmadeva prisoner to Delhi. The Sultan freely pardoned him and sent him back with great honours to rule over his territories as a vassal of Delhi. This generous treatment won the undying loyalty of Kāmadeva who did not hesitate to further the designs of his Mohammadan suzerain against his brother kings of the south.

Pratapa Rudra, the Kākatiya king, was the next to feel the weight of the Mohammadan arms. In A. D. 1309 Alauddin made a second attempt to ransack the treasures of the Kākatiya kingdom. That money and not the acquisition of territory was his main object is evident from the instructions he gave to Malik Kafur on the eve of his departure.

against Warangal. He was told that 'if the Rai⁹ consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, his offer should be accepted and he should not be pressed too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire without pushing matters too far..... If he could not do this, he was, for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rai with him to Delhi.'¹⁰ Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji left Delhi with a large army and, after passing through most wild regions, they reached the hospitable territories of Ramadeva, who welcomed them with respectful offerings to the Sultan and presents to the generals. When the imperial forces marched through his kingdom, Ramadeva sent men in advance to all the villages on the route, as far as the borders of Warangal, with orders for the collection of fodder and provisions for the army. He also supplied a force of Marathas, both horse and foot, to assist Malik Kafur and himself accompanied him several stages. Thus helped at every stage by the loyal vassal Ramadeva, the army of Islam reached the fort of Sarbat (Sirpur) belonging to the Kākatiyas. The fort was at once invested, and in consequence of the fire-arrows shot by the Mohammadans the houses in it caught fire. Many of the inhabitants perished in the flames and the rest were massacred. After the capture of this place, Malik Kafur proceeded on his onward march towards Warangal. When he arrived near the city, he sent two chiefs with forty mounted archers to occupy the hill of Anumakonda for, from that, all the edifices and gardens of Warangal could be seen. He himself proceeded to invest the Kākatiya Metropolis.

Pratapa Rudra was not inactive. Of course he could not count upon the support of the neighbouring rulers. Ramdeva was entirely on the side of the imperialists. The rulers of the south were quite indifferent towards him. Yet undaunted by the overwhelming odds against him, he organised a night attack on the beseigers. Vinayak Deva issued out of the fort with 3000 horse, but due to the vigilance of the Mohammadans, he failed to make any impression upon them and retired after great loss. Kafur persistently carried on his operations against the external mud wall and ordered the "Western stone balls" to be thrown at it from every direction. "The stones of the Musalmans all flew high, owing to the power of the strong cable, but the balls of the Hindus were shot feebly, as from a Brahmin's thread."¹¹ At last several breaches were effected in the wall and within a few days the beseiging army got possession of the whole of the outer wall. They then saw the inner fortress, which was

9. Rai=Raya=King. The Mohammadan historians call him Laddig Deo.

10. Barani:Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (Elliot III p. 201)

11. Amir Khusru Tarikh-i-Ali (Elliot III p. 81)

built of stone and was surrounded by a deep ditch. When the invading army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions. This was too much for Pratapa Rudra, and he lost all hope of repelling the enemy. He had placed too much confidence in the impregnability of his fortifications, but the superior arms of the enemy carried the day. Fearing that further resistance might prove the ruin of his country, he sent messengers to Malik Kafur offering his submission, and promising to pay an annual tribute. The relentless general demanded all his treasures too as a price of peace and "threatened a general massacre, if it should be found that the Rai had reserved anything for himself."¹² Pratapa Rudra complied with all the stringent terms, surrendered 300 elephants, 7000 horses and large quantities of coined money and jewels, and promised to send annually a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants to Delhi. In March 1310 A.D. Kafur left Warangal with all his booty and passing through Deogir, Dhar and Jhain returned to Delhi.

The Tamil work Koyilolugu confirms the statement of the Muhammadan historians so far as the defeat of Pratapa Rudra and the seizure of his treasures are concerned.¹³ The Mohammadan historians do not say anything about the loss of men and materials suffered by the imperial forces in carrying out their campaign to a successful end. But it must have been immense in view of the fact, that they imposed staggering terms upon the vanquished, viz., the surrender of "everything that the Rai's country produced, from vegetables, mines and animals."¹⁴ Pratapa Rudra bowed before the storm, and waited for a suitable opportunity to shake off the Moslem yoke.

In the meantime, the avarice of Alauddin increased with every success, and during the following two years his forces were employed in ransacking the treasures of the extreme south. Malik Kafur met with success everywhere. The rulers of Dwarasamudra and Madura were humbled and their accumulated wealth was seized. The famous temples at Chidambaram, Srirangam and Madura were plundered and their idols were sent into wilderness. The victorious army returned to Delhi about the middle of 1311 A. D. bringing with it 512 elephants, 5000 horses and 500 *mans* of jewels.¹⁵

Thus all the lands south of the Vindhya were plundered and subjugated by the armies of Delhi. None dared to raise his head against the imperial authority without endangering his own life and property.

12. Ibid p. 84.

13. K. V. S. Iyer: Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, p. 301.

14. Amir Khusru: Tarikh-i-Alai (Elliot, III, p. 84)

15. Ibid, p. 92. According to Barani, 612 elephants, 96,000 *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and 20,000 horses.

About A. D. 1312 Shankar, the son and successor of Ramadeva assumed a somewhat defiant attitude, and so Malik Kafur immediately pounced upon him like a hawk, and not only put him to death, but also, contrary to Alauddin's Deccan policy, annexed his kingdom to Delhi.

But Alauddin's declining health and the intrigues of Malik Kafur brought the imperial power into disrepute. The subject kings began to consolidate their resources with a view to assert their independence. The death of Alauddin in A. D. 1315 was followed by a general disruption throughout his empire. Gujerat was in open rebellion; Harapal Deva, a son-in law of Ramadeva, expelled the Moslem garrisons from Devagiri; and Pratapa Rudra, who had been waiting all these years to regain his freedom, at once stopped sending tribute to Delhi, and extended his dominions as far south as Kanchi and Trichinopoly. Delhi was in a state of great commotion. Kafur seized all authority in the state and blinded or imprisoned all the claimants to the throne.

However, the triumph of the Hindus did not last long. Kafur, after a reign of 35 days, was put to death by his own agents of tyranny, and a son of Alauddin was crowned emperor of Delhi under the title of Mubarak Shah. In his early reign he proved as energetic as his father and applied himself to the reconquest of the Deccan and South India. In A. D. 1317 he suppressed the rebellion in Gujerat; defeated and flayed alive Harapal deva of Devagiri, and sent a large force under his favourite Malik Khusru to settle accounts with Pratapa Rudra.

Pratapa Rudra and other rulers of the south did not learn any lesson from their past discomfiture and were as divided as on the eve of Alauddin's first invasion of the Deccan. But this must be said to the credit of the great Kakatiya king that he did not submit to his foes without putting forth a stout resistance. According to Amir Khusru, the Hindu horsemen were more than 10,000, and the foot soldiers beyond all calculation, while the Muhammadans were altogether 300 or even less. Yet the latter are said to have not only inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hindus, but also pursued them to the gates of the citadel.¹⁶ Amir Khusru appears to have here intentionally minimised the number of Mohammadan forces with a view to glorify the achievement of the soldiers of Islam. It cannot be believed that Pratapa Rudra's generals and soldiers were so very cowardly and weak that a handful of Moslem troopers could put them to flight. However, the course of the rest of the campaign ran as on the occasion of Malik Kafur's invasion and ended with similar results. The capture of the outer mud wall and a vigorous attack on the inner stone wall brought a vision of destruction before the

16. Amir Khusru: *Nub Sipihr*, (Elliot, III, p. 500)

eyes of the king and convinced him of the futility of further opposition. He opened negotiations with his enemy and offered his entire wealth, 100 elephants and 12,000 horses, as a price of peace. When the imperial general was convinced that nothing was withheld from him, and got a written engagement for an annual tribute, he retired from Warangal and Pratapa Rudra breathed a sigh of relief.

After the subjugation of the Kakatiya prince, Malik Khusrū invaded the Ma'bar and once more the authority of the Delhi Sultanate was imposed upon the crowned heads of Southern India.

But Khusrū's heart was not in the south. Like Kafur, he also treated his victories as stepping stones to the throne of Delhi. Finding a suitable opportunity he killed his sovereign and proclaimed himself emperor under the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din. But his rule was so disgusting to the Musalmāns that within three months of his usurpation he was overthrown by Ghazī Tughlaq of the Panjab, who in his turn became the Sultan under the name of Ghayasud-din Tughlaq (A.D. 1320).

These revolutions in Delhi gave a second opportunity to Pratapa Rudra to assert his independence by withholding his tribute from the Delhi Sultanate. He strengthened his fortifications, garrisoned them with numerous Hindus, and waited in a state of preparedness for all eventualities. He must have known from past experience that the Sultans of Delhi would not easily forego the tribute from his kingdom, and would try to enforce its payment at any time. Indeed the first Tughlaq sovereigns were as energetic as Alauddin Khilji, and probably more ambitious so far as their dealings with the south were concerned. Alauddin was content to treat the Deccan as "the milch-cow for the gold that he was often in need of." But the Tughlaqs wanted the southern gold as well as the southern territory and so the assertion of independence on the part of the Hindu rulers of the south could not be tolerated by them for even a single moment.

In A. D. 1321 Ghayasuddin Tughlaq sent his son Fakhruddin Jannā, entitled Ulugh Khāq to punish the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal. Several of the nobles and officers, both of the old and new dynasty, were sent with him. The prince set out with great pomp, and when he arrived in Deogir, the officers and forces of that place joined him. The fort of Warangal was besieged as usual, and the Hindus stoutly resisted the attacks of the enemy. Sharp conflicts between the two parties were of daily occurrence. Fire was discharged from the fort, and many were killed on both sides. But day by day the Mohammādāns began to gain an upper hand over the Hindus, and so Pratapa Rudra "offered treasure

and elephants and jewels and valuables, and begged that the Khan would accept these with tribute, as Malik Naib Kafur had done in the reign of Alauddin, and would then retire."¹⁷ Fakruddin Janna haughtily rejected the offer and persisted in his determination to reduce the fort and capture the king. In the meantime communications between Delhi and the Moslem camp at Warangal were cut off, and rumour went round that the Sultan was dead and a new prince now sat on the throne of Delhi. Probably this was effected by the agents of Pratapa Rudra to confuse the beseigers. Evil mongers spread another story that Janna looked upon the nobles of Alauddin with suspicion and intended to arrest them and put them to death. So a panic seized the moslem forces and the nobles began to desert Prince Janna one by one, so that he had no alternative but to raise the seige and retire upon Devagiri. The Hindus now came out, pursued the retreating forces, and captured a large number of men, horses and arms. Deteat was changed into victory and Pratapa Rudra emerged triumphant out of this struggle.

This failure rankled in the mind of the Sultan. Again in A. D. 1323 he despatched Janna with fresh troops to reduce Warangal. As usual the fort of Warangal was invested, and the seige was opened with more vigour than on the first occasion. Pratapa Rudra probably never thought that the Mohammadans would return so soon after their last failure. With their superior arms, the Moslems at last succeeded in reducing both the outer and the inner fortifications. Pratapa Rudra with his family and nobles fell into the hands of the victors and was sent to Delhi. The Kākatiya kingdom, with all its treasures, elephants and horses passed into the hands of the Musalmans, and was annexed to the Delhi empire. Pratapa Rudra died on his way to Delhi.¹⁸

The sun of Kakatiya glory set for ever. Pratapa Rudra lost everything in defence of his country, his people and his religion. Twice he had succeeded in repelling the Moslem attacks, twice he had made serious attempts to shake off the Moslem yoke. But the fates were adverse to him. In his final struggle Islam emerged victorious and the hopes of the Hindus were dashed to the ground.

But this was the inevitable penalty the Hindus had to pay for their generations of political dissensions and mutual warfare. With the fall of the Hindu kingdoms the cup of humiliation was full. Relief came in the next generation when from the ashes of the Kakatiya and Hoysala kingdoms emerged the mighty Vijayanagara Empire which stood up for nearly three centuries as the bulwark of Hindu liberty and thus fulfilled the ideals for which Pratapa Rudra fought and died.

17. Barani Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (Elliot, III, p. 281)

18. Shams-i-Siraj Afif: Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (Elliot III, p. 267)

KAUMUDIMAHOTSAVA AND GUPTA HISTORY.

K. RAGHAVACHARIYULU, M.A., B.L.

An article by the celebrated Oriental Scholar Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the Modern Review Vol. 45 p. 499 has drawn my attention to the historic background of the drama '*Kaumudi Mahotsava*' published by the Andhra Historical Research Society. I propose to offer a few suggestions with reference to the subject leaving the detailed study to scholars interested in Sanskrit Literature and Early Indian History.

The authorship of the drama is attributed to Vijjika, a lady, by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, the editor. The original manuscript was according to him worm-eaten and the letters विज्जि were guessed by him. References in Alamkara Literature either to the author or to the drama are wanting. The date and authorship of the drama, therefore, are matters to be determined by internal evidences alone.

The drama was staged on the Kaumudi Mahotsava day, a common festival at Pataliputra and the *Mudraraksasha* of Visakhadatta also refers to it. The occasion was the accession to the throne of Kalyana Varma, a king of Magadha. The authoress further tells us that the drama purports to describe the past history of the king.

Sundaravarman, the father of Kalyanavarman brought up one Chandasena as a son and the latter in alliance with the Licchavis who were on inimical terms with Magadha, attacked Pataliputra. Sundara Varman died in the battle and his son Kalyanavarman was taken to Pampapuri. After some years the Minister Mantragupta raised some forces, defeated Chandasena and re-established Kirtivarman on the Magadha throne. With this background, the love episode of Kalyana Varman with Kirtimati, daughter of Kirtisena of the Surasenas, is interwoven.

Mr. Jayaswal thinks that this story brings into light the early Gupta history. He identifies Chandrasena with Chandra Gupta I and concludes that Samudra Gupta put an end to the Varman family and established the Guptas firmly on the throne. The reference in the drama to Chandasena as a Kāraskara (कारस्करः) and his alliance with Licchavis have influenced him in coming to such a conclusion (P. 30)

स्लेच्छन्ति हिमिः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा

Before we proceed to discuss the matter further, it may be noted that the history of the Licchavis is very scantily noticed in books on Indian History. Nothing further is known to us than that Chandra Gupta I was married to Kumāradevi a Licchavi princess and that he and his son Samudra Gupta established the Gupta empire through their help. We have not got also any evidence to show that there was a Varman family on the throne prior to the Guptas. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi in his introduction opines that the drama might have been composed between 500-700 A.D.

The plot of the drama is simple and natural but the diction lacks the perfectness and charm that characterises the works of master dramatists like Kalidasa. This has been referred to by the editor in his introduction. Further a casual perusal of the drama would convince any one that the writer is heavily indebted to Kalidasa for her thoughts and expression. A few examples would suffice to show this

- 1 कथं मियमस्या मार्गलता गमनविघ्नमाचरति P. 9
- 2 वृक्त्रामोदप्रसक्तं मधुकरयुवानं लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती P. 10
- 3 अयि हृदयक्लृप्तं निर्धृणोऽसि P. 14
- 4 आश्रयति माधवी चेदाश्रमसहकारपादपस्कन्धम् P. 15
- 5 क्षणक्षीणौ बाहू च्युतपतितकेयूरवल्लयौ P. 16
- 6 तदनयोर्वार्गर्थयोरिव समवायं करिष्यामि P. 21
- 7 अचिन्तनीयं मनसापि लब्धुं मज्ञातभावं जनमन्तरेण P. 22
- 8 डदं किलाविष्कृतकान्तिविप्लवं P. 9

Instances can be multiplied but for want of space, I am content with asserting that the writer is not only heavily indebted to Kalidasa but has drawn from him to such an extent as would be called plagiarism. The use of words like Kulapati, Vykanasa etc. points to the same conclusion. As the introduction points out, the author seems to be indebted to Bharavi also. That Kalidasa and Bharavi are referred to in the Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II is known to us all.¹ (634 A.D.) The majority of orientalists concur in ascribing Kalidasa to the reigns of Chandra-gupta II known as Vikramaditya (375-413 A.D.) and Kumaragupta I (413-455 A.D.) Bharavi is assigned to the Sixth century.

The views of Mr. Jayaswal would lead us to assign² the authoress of Kaumudi Mahotsava, a date nearly a century anterior to that of Kalidasa which in the light of the internal evidence of the drama would

be impossible, unless we revert to the 1st century theory as regards Kalidasa's date. A reference in the drama to Udayana, Saunaka, Avimaraka and Dattaka would not lead us to any conclusion nor does the allusion to Sugāṅga and Suryāmuna, the Royal palaces at Pataliputra and Kausambi. The writer was evidently acquainted with the Udayana legends and might have known Avimaraka, the drama of Bhasa. The legend of Saunaka has been given in the Dasakumaracharitra of Dandin who is reputed to have lived either in the 5th or 6th century A.D. It can thus be seen that the drama could not possibly refer to Chandragupta I and his Licchavi connection. The identification of Chandrasena as Chandragupta is also far fetched and so is the conclusion from his description as a कारस्कार

The manuscript of the drama was obtained from Malabar though this would not lead us to any hypothesis. The reference to सम्बन्धं (Sambandham) with the Licchavis (p. 30) and the mention of God Anantanarayana (p. 35) might suggest a southern origin of the Drama but one cannot safely venture with such flimsy material to theorise about the drama or its authorship. Suffice it to say, that the authorship of the drama, its date and the theory of Mr. Javaswal alluded to above require reconsideration at the hands of historians and orientalists.

Note:—Since writing the above, I have come across another article by the same scholar in the annals of the Chandiarkar Institute Vol. XII pages 50,56 reaffirming his conclusions in the Modern Review. The authoress Vijjika seems to have been mentioned in a modern work Rasikajivana by Gadādharaḥṣṭha who is said to have flourished after 1650 A. D. (Vide Annals Vol. XII p. 399).

KAKATIYA COINS.

S. T. SREENIVASA GOPALACHARI M.L.

On this subject there is not much literature to guide us safely. It is therefore desirable to notice, briefly, as far as possible, all that has appeared so far.

The earliest reference to Kakatiya Coins is to be found in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II 1844-1847, in which under Article No 7 at page 63, the Secretary of the Society gives a description of 10 gold coins found at the village of Hooley in the Southern Konkan and presented by Government. The weight is 63 prains. On the Obverse there are symbols for the important deities indicated by Telugu letter, 'K' (standing for Yama), 'Ch' (standing for Soma), and in the centre, there is a circle standing for Vaivaswat, or the sun. On the Reverse of most of the coins is written within a circle the word *Rudra*, while on the Reverse of one of them there is a *Trisula* with the Nagari legend "*Srimanya Devaya*." All these coins are attributed by the writer to "the Kakatiya Kings, Princes of Warangal, the chief of them being Rudra Deva." An illustration of the coins is also given.

The next reference is in Sir Walter Elliot's "Coins of Southern India" 1886. At page 85 of the book he admits that he did not have the opportunity of meeting with many coins of the Kakatiya Family, but claims to have made some notes of a few that he has seen and says that their cognizance is a bull couchant,—seen also on several of the seals, between two candalebra with an umbrella above, and a Chowri on each side. He gives reference to a copoer coin, since lost, with a bull couchant on the Obverse, and on the Reverse a legend in Nagari read tentatively "SrimatKaKakatiPratapa Ra . . . ya . . ." and alternatively as "kakata . . .Saka . . .2 . . .". In Plate III of his book he refers to three coins Nos. 93, 94 and 95 under the heading, "Coins of the Kakatiyas of Warangal and Vema Reddis of Kondavid," and follows, giving illustrations :

No. 93 Gold Fanam, Obv. Bull Couchant to right.

Rev. Doubtful.

No. 94 Copper

Obv. Bull couchant to right.

Over his back a lingam.

Rev. Legend in Telugu.

No. 95 Copper.

Obv. Like the last.

Rev. Legend in Telugu

Now, No. 93 looks very much like a Chalukya Fanam, of which specimens are available, the "doubtful" Reverse being either "Sri Ra"

in Nagari, or the Samvat year. Whether that is so or not, there can be no doubt that Nos. 94 and 95, *cannot* be Kakatiyas. They belong to the very late *Sri Vira* or *Sridhara* series (Temple Coins?) coined by the Nayak Rulers of Madura or Tinnevely in the 17th or 18th century. See in this connection, the remarks of Mr. Sewell in his article "On some doubtful copper coins of Southern India" in the Indian Antiquary of August 1903 at page 315. Compare also coins, Nos. 92 to 123 in Plate IV of Loventall's "Coins of Tinnevely."

Professor Rapson in his "Indian Coins" 1897, Article 136 at page 38, relating to the Kakatiyas of Warrangal, gives nothing original, as he merely refers us to Elliot for coins attributed to this Dynasty. No illustrations of these coins are found in his plates.

Major R. P. Jackson in his article on the "Dominions, Emblems and coins of South Indian Dynasties" published in the British Numismatic Journal for 1912 practically copies Mr. Elliot under the heading "The Ganapathi Dynasty of Warrangal" at pp. 314-315.

Even Mr. C. J. Browne in his book on "the Coins of India" 1922 gives no definite information. At page 60, he merely says "To the Kakatiyas or Ganapathi Dynasty of Warangal (1110-1323) have been tentatively assigned Pagodas, Fanams and Copper coins with couchant bull on the obverse, and incomplete Nagari legend on the Reverse." The reason for this is not however given. In any case, there is no warrant for the statement that any *pagoda* with a couchant bull on the Obverse, and Nagari legend on the Reverse, has been found which can be assigned to this Dynasty. By the way, there is no such pagoda in the Cabinet of the Madras Museum.

Lastly, in a recent article on "Some South Indian Gold Coins" in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 66. 1927, at pp. 186-194, the writer takes objection to Mr. Elliot giving a couchant bull as the Kakatiya device. No doubt, as pointed out by the writer of the article, the usual device or *mudra* of the Kakatiya kings is, as in the case of the Chalukyas, a boar. Thus, in several inscriptions and grants of this Dynasty, there are invocations to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu, and reference is also made to the boar as being the crest or *mudra* of this Dynasty. See for example, the following inscriptions:—

- (1) That on the Pillar in front of the Virabhadraswami Temple in Motunilli, in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District. (*Vide* Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII, 1913-1914, p. 188, Article No. 22 by Dr. Hultzsch.)
- (2) That on the Western Wall of the second Prakara of the Sri Jambukeswaraswami Temple, near Trichinopoly, by King Pratapa Rudra. (*Vide* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 197, by Dr. Hultzsch.)

- (3) That on the Kotagiri Plates (as well as their seals) of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramamba of the year 1273. (*Vide* Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 6 published by the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam, 1925.), and
- (4) That on the four sides of the rectangular stone at Pakhal of King Ganapathi Deva. (*Vide* Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4 published by the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam, 1919.)

The writer of the article in question makes a point of the fact that far from there being a bull, the figures of a cow and a calf are to be found in King Prola's inscription on the quadrangular granite Pillar in front of the Padmakshi Temple on the hill to the south of Hanumakonda. (*Vide* Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX 1907-1908; Article 35 at p. 256 by Mr. Krishna Sastry). The cow and the calf may have reference to the legendary origin of the Kakatiya kingdom. But it is submitted that having regard to the fact that the Kakatiyas were ardent worshippers of Swayambudeva or Siva and constructed Siva Temples with Nandis, there is nothing improbable in their having issued coins with the couchant Nandi or Bull on the Obverse.

Lastly, the writer of the above article ascribes to the Kakatiya Dynasty a gold coin discovered in a Treasure Trove in the Kavalyadavalli village, Afmakur Taluk, Nellore District, in the year 1921. The weight is 56.25 grains. On the Obverse, there are the words "Sri" on either side of the horizontal diameter, with the letters "(Ka) ti" on the top, and 'gana' at the bottom, in old Telugu Script. The interspaces are filled by figures of a *lion* (or *tiger*) with opened mouth, raised paw, and twisted tail. The Reverse is blank.

The obvious objection to the attribution of this coin to the Kakatiya Dynasty is the presence of the lion (?), an emblem appropriate to the Pallavas or Kadambas, but this is sought to be got over on the ground that the Kakatiya kings must have taken over the coins of the earlier dynasties current in their time and punched thereon their own legends on the old coins of kings who had lion for their emblem. This is at best a suggestion, though perhaps a plausible one, and awaits corroboration.

At the same time however one has to be circumspect before attributing any coins with the bull Obverse to the Kakatiya Dynasty. The Bull Obverse, standing or couchant, is a familiar figure in Numismatics. Eg Chola Coins,—Elliot, Plate IV, Figures Nos. 167, 169, 173 add 174.

Vijjanagara Coins,—Hultzsch, Indian Antiquary Sept. 1891, Plate II, Figure 23. (Nagari Reverse.)

Sethupathi coins.—Tracy, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Figure No. 1, (Couchant Bull. with Ceylon man., Figures Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 6. (Couchant Bull, without Ceylon man.)

A close examination of the available materials, therefore, leads one to the lame conclusion that, of Kakatiya Coins, we have not so far come across any reliable specimens. This is a conclusion no doubt not quite in keeping with the expectations raised by the title to this article, somewhat analogous to the one on "Snakes in Iceland."

NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF YASOVARMADEVA.

A Reply to criticism.

V. P. GOUTAM, M.A., LL.B.

An interesting article dealing with the above named document has recently appeared in the Government of India publication named *Epigraphia Indica*. In it Dr. H. Sastri, the editor, has given the text and translation of this very valuable inscription adding a historical introduction to bring out the importance of it. This paper of the learned editor of the said journal has not come up to the satisfaction of one Mr. Bhattasali who has written a note on it in the *Modern Review* of September last. My attention was drawn to this note by a friend of mine and at the instance of another friend I am noticing it here, much against my will, in order that the critic from Dacca and his inspirers may not think the criticism, if this can be so called, as unassailable.

The perusal of what Mr. Bhattasali has written would show that it is the outcome of jealousy which he and people of his ilk entertain towards Hindustani scholars of note. The very tone of it is malicious. It bristles with rank abuse which no scholar would have recourse to. Mr. Bhattasali decries Dr. Shastri in unmeasured terms and calls his contribution as the first fruits of 'Swara' referring to the first Indian lately appointed as the Director General of Archaeology as if the Department had gone to sleep, since the day of his appointment. Those in the know see a wire-puller behind, who is very often heard talking like Mr. Bhattasali, who to quote Chanakya, is a '*laghvi-matra*' and India is India after all. We hold no brief for Dr. Shastri but were Mr. Bhattasali to see the *Modern Review* itself, page 696 of Volume XLY (June 1929) and read what Professor Luders of Germany, the famous oriental epigraphist, has openly stated about the present editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, he would be convinced what reputation Dr. Shastri has established for the Journal he edits.

Putting these matters aside, let us see what the 'criticism' contains besides spite. Mr. Bhattasali has not brought forth anything which we do not see in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. The question of the script being late has been already disposed of quite convincingly by citing some documents, where the same character has been used during the period to which this Nalanda inscription has been ascribed. It is doubtful whether Mr. Bhattasali can be considered a greater authority than the experienced and accredited Government epigraphist, although he seems to pose as such, without any rhyme or reason. In fact this is the main point which has to be proved to controvert Dr. Shastri's view. The rest follows as a matter of course. That Yasovarmadeva of Kanauj

who was vanquished by a ruler of the type of Lalitaditya of Kashmir could not have been a monarch like the one described in the Nalanda stone inscription is too obvious to require a demonstration. Even the *Gaudabaho* in spite of its poetic exaggerations and embellishments, will not help our great 'critic' to establish his right to that high position. That Lalitaditya had some Turkey servants is too curious an argument to support his view. If that were sound, so many Turkomans were employed in India during the Mughal period, that the document could easily be brought down to that epoch. Again that Mālāda should pay his homage to Bālāditya who died long before him, is indeed a strange sort of devotion to a human being. The critic says that the Vajrasan Image was like that erected at Bodh Gaya and Mālāda made his offerings to it calling it as the *Śasta* of Bālāditya. Dr. Shastri has noticed this alternative in his article already. In fact this was the view of Professor J. Ph. Vogel of the Leiden University. Let not the critic of Dacca arrogate it to himself. Dr. Shastri gave a different interpretation. I think he had every right to do that. Had he adopted the view of the Dutch scholar, he would certainly have acknowledged his indebtedness to him unlike Mr. Bhattasali. As to the imputation that Mālāda called the image as the Buddha of Bālāditya, one would pity the critic for his ignorance. Buddhism does not know of such a limited notion of charity; the idea is un-Buddhistic. The benefactions of Buddhists are, as a matter of fact, considered as common gifts and the accruing *punya* is to be shared by all sentient beings "*sarva satvanam hita-sukhaya*." No Buddhist would like to call a gift his *own*. Let Mr. Bhattasali go to any Buddhist making an offering. He will notice that the person who makes the gift asks everybody present on the occasion to touch the gift, so that it may be treated as if it were given by him also and thus it becomes a common gift. Even Hindus are seen doing likewise, to some extent, at least, when they say '*idam agnaye idam na māna*' Mālāda could make an offering to Buddha and not to *anybody's* Buddha, nor could the Buddha image of anybody be omnipresent.

Yaśovarmmadeva was a sovereign king but Bālāditya was only the ruler of Magadha. How he hid himself among the bushes of the ~~marsh~~ when Mihirakula attacked his territory is best known from the account given by Hsuen Tsiang. Yasodha (va) rman must have come forward as the suzerain to help the cause of his vassal chief Bālāditya.

Not satisfied with his extraordinary new discovery, to attain which he dispensed so much bile, our 'learned critic' insinuated that there are some defects in the reading of Dr. Shastri, but he never pointed them out. That is just the way of creating doubts against an opponent. Vague and indefinite expressions are the forte of such people.

THE EMPIRE OF HARSHA.

A. C. BANERJI. M.A.

In order to clearly understand the extent of the empire of Harsha it is necessary to recapitulate the various theories propounded from time to time, and discuss the political condition of the countries separately. M. Ettinghaussen thinks that he was the 'overlord of the whole of Northern India.¹ Mr. Pannikar observed that Harsha's Empire extended from Kāmarupa on the east to Kashmir on the west, from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya on the south.² Dr. R. K. Mukherji is of opinion that from Nepal on the east and (probably) Kashmir on the west (because he has excluded Kashmir from the map attached to his book), and from Samatāṭa on the south-east to Malwa on the south-west—all the countries were included within Harsha's Empire.³ It was Dr. R. C. Mazumdar who first objected to the claims of modern champions of Harsha, and very rightly pointed out that Harsha's direct rule extended over Mid-India only.

Before we proceed to consider the political condition of Northern India in Harsha's time, it would be better if we examine the territorial possessions of Harsha's forefathers. From the manner in which genealogical table is given in the *Banskherra* and *Matliban* copper-plate grants and *Sonepat* seal, it will not be unfair to conclude that before the accession of Prabhākaravardhana, the Pushpabhutis were a local dynasty of no importance. It was he who seems to have assumed full sovereign titles. About his conquests we know very little. Our only informant his son's court poet Bāna, who very poetically tells us that "There was born in course of time a king of kings named Prabhākaravardhana famed far and wide under a second name Pratāpaśīlā, a lion to the Huṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarāt, a bilious plague to that scent elephant the king of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭs, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory."⁴ If the above quoted passages are taken to be true, then, there

¹ Ettinghaussen-*Harshavardhana* p. 48.

² Pannikar *Sri Harsha of Kanauj* p. 27.

³ Mukherji *Harsha* pp. 22-50.

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.* 1923.

⁵ Thomas and Cowell *Harsha Charita* St. 183 p. 101.

can be no doubt as to the fact that they were mere raids and not permanent conquests. When Prabhākaravardhana was dying his eldest son was away warring with the Hunas, and not long after his death Devagupta, king of Malwa, defeated Grahavarman, last of the Maukharis and imprisoned his wife Rajyaśrī, daughter of Prabhākaravardhana.

Rājyavardhana who went to avenge his sister's wrongs was himself killed by Śaśāṅka (king of Gauda according to Bāṇa, and king of Karnaśuvarṇa, according to Yuan-Chawang, it is quite possible that Karnaśuvarṇa was the capital of Śaśāṅka) after he had chastised Devagupta. The upshot of the above discussion is that Thāneswar and the surrounding districts were the paternal kingdom of Harsha, and it seems that some parts of Malwa (probably eastern Malwa) were conquered by Rājyavardhana. After the death of his elder brother, Harsha naturally became heir to the vacant throne, but Hiuen-Tsang tells us a novel story about the hesitancy of Harsha in accepting the reins of the paternal kingdom. We are not in a position either to affirm or deny the story, but Messrs. C. V. Vaidya and N. Roy seem to be right in surmising that Harsha's hesitancy refers to the throne of Kanauj and not to that of Thaneswara.⁶ Soon after this event Harsha transferred his capital to Kanauj, because Hiuen Tsang describes him in connection with that city and not with Thaneswar. Harsha prepared to avenge his brother's death, and on his way was met by Bhaṇḍi with the spoils of Devagupta's camp, and a plenipotentiary of the king of Kāmarupa seeking his alliance. There the matter ends. We are never told what came of the expedition. Most curiously both Bāṇa and Hiuen-Tsang are silent over his conquests, except some vague statements of a general character. But the Chinese pilgrim gives us a detailed list and description of the countries he visited, from which it would not be impossible to gather facts about his conquests.

Lampā—a dependency of Kashmir.

Texila—it was formerly subject to Kāpiś but now to Kashmir.

Kashmir—had a number of dependencies. Dr Mukherji while speaking of Kashmir has made an assumption which is not supported by any evidence. "The king of Kashmir" says he "was a devout Buddhist."⁷ As far as the present writer's knowledge goes, nowhere in *Yuan Chawang* or in any other source, the king of Kashmir, whose name we know from *Rājatarāṅginī* to be Durlabhavardhana (C. 601-37 A.D.), is mentioned as a devout Buddhist. He is further of opinion that the story narrated in the '*Life of Hiuen-Tsang*' about parting of "Tooth relic" from Kashmir shows that in a way Kashmir recognized the suzerainty of Harsha⁸

• 6 Vaidya *History of Mediaeval India* pp. 7-9 and *India Historical Quarterly* Vol. VII, p. III pp. 771-773.

7 R. K. Mukherji *Harsha* p. 39.

8 *Ibid* p. 40.

What the 'Life' says is this, "In recent times Śilādityarāja hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of Buddha coming in person to the chief frontier *asked permission* to see and worship it....." ⁹ Thus it is evident that the statement in 'Life' does not allude or hint in any way to the dependency of Kashmir to the imperial sway of Kanauj. Concluding about Kashmir, Professor Mukherji says "Bāṇa refers to an inaccessible land of snowy mountain subdued by Harsha and this phrase might signify Kashmir also." ¹⁰ But on page 31 of his book the learned professor has already accepted the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's theory that Nepal was included within the empire of Harsha, and the puzzled reader is thus left to himself to find out whether unfortunate Bāṇa's '*tushāra Śailo duruha* etc' signifies Nepal or Kashmir according to Dr. Mukherji. Thus we see that the evidence at our disposal does not permit us to include Kashmir within the empire of Harsha. On the other hand, the evidence furnished by Hiuen-Tsang fully bears out this conclusion, because he described Kashmir as a rival to Kāpriś with dependencies in the neighbourhood.

Jālandhara—Many scholars are of opinion that Jālandhara was included within the empire of Harsha. But I am afraid the evidence is very little to justify such a conclusion. Dr. Mukherji says, "His empire some times extended not by conquest but by alliance and friendship." "We read of another king of Northern India or the "Punjab king Uditō" of Jalandhara who became a convert to Buddhism, thereupon the king of Mid-India appreciating his sincere faith gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India." ¹¹ What the Chinese pilgrim really said is this "A former king of this country had been a patron of non-Buddhistic faith; afterwards he became an Arhat and made himself a zealous believer. Then a king of Mid-India appreciating his sincere faith gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism all over India." ¹² It passes my humble comprehension how the Chinese pilgrim meant to allude to the supremacy of Kanauj over Jālandhara when he is clearly referring to a predecessor of Uditō. Mr. Niharranjan Ray was faced with the same difficulty, but he explains away the inconsistency by saying that "a former king" does not mean a ruler that has already died. ¹³ But I regret very much to point out that Mr. Roy's explanation is rather unconvincing and as long as Watters translation stands, the difficulty of accepting the contention that Uditō was a vassal of Harsha will remain.

Matipur—had a Sudra monarch but whether independent or not we are unable to determine.

⁹ Beal *Life of Hiuen-Tsang*. p. 183.

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 40. ¹¹ *Harsha* p. 44.

¹² Watters *Yuan Chawang*. Vol. I p. 297.

¹³ *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol III p 780,

Ahichchhatra—on the evidence furnished by the Banskhera⁶ plates was certainly included within the empire.¹⁴

Śrāvastī—Madhuban Copper Plates testify to its inclusion within the empire,¹⁵

The pilgrim is silent over Ayodhyā, Ayamukha, Kauśāmbī, and Kuśinagara. But it is probable that they were included within the empire.

Magadha—Had a king called Purnavarma—an alleged descendant of Aśoka. The Rohtasgadh seal¹⁶ of Śaśāṅka proves that at one time it was included within the dominion of Harsha's rival. At an early stage of the struggle for supremacy, Śaśāṅka seems to have lost this part of his possessions. This is further confirmed by a piece of evidence to which our attention was first drawn by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, that the Chinese embassy which came to Harsha describes him as king of Magadha.¹⁷ Purnavarma was probably a feudatory of Harsha.

Nepal—It was late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji who first propounded the theory that Bāṇa's description of a snowy mountainous tract difficult of access refers to Nepal; he further showed that three inscriptions of Amśuvarman dated in the years 34, 39 and 45 are to be referred to the era established by Harsha.¹⁸ It was long ago that M. Sylvain Levi, M. L. Ettinghausen, and the editors of Yuan Chawang, pointed out the difficulty of accepting the late Pandit's suggestion but time and again scholars have upheld the now obsolete theory. In a note Dr. Mukherji amongst other things says :—

(1) Yuan Chawang refers to a recent king called Amśuvarman whose inscriptions are dated in the years 34, 39 and 45. It is believed that the era used in the inscriptions is not his own.

(2) That the Harsha era was widely used in Northern India is testified to by Albiruni. No other era can meet the requirements of the case.

(3) There is a statement in the Vamśāvalī of Nepal that⁶ just before Amśuvarman died Vikramjit came to Nepal and established his era there. This Vikramjit (Vikramaditya) is no other than Harsha.

About the first point of Dr. Mukherji we can have nothing to say because there he is stating facts. As for the second point his statement is rather puzzling. What Albiruni said is that in his time the Harsha era was used in Kanauj and Mathura.¹⁹ But these two places do not

¹⁴ *E. I.* IV p. 208.

¹⁵ *Ibid* I. p. 67.

¹⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III p. 283.

¹⁷ *J.B.O.R.S.* 1923 Watters *Yuan Chawang* Vol. I. p. 351.

¹⁸ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIV p. 420.

¹⁹ *Schau Albiruni's India* Vol II p. 5,

cover the whole of Northern India. Again, of the nearly twenty inscriptions relating to the Harsha Era in Kielhorn's list only five can be referred to that era excluding his own.²⁰ Of these five, the find spot of Adityasen's inscription is Shahpur in Bihar, and the find spot of inscription No. 543 (of Kielhorn's list) is uncertain. Pehoa is the findspot of inscription Nos. 546-7, and No. 545 was found at Khajuraho. These places certainly do not cover half of Northern India even. Thus we see the hollowness of the claim that 'Harsha Era' was in widest use in Northern India. As to the point that Harsha Era was employed by Śivadeva, it has to be pointed out that since Amśuvarman was a predecessor of Śivadeva it does not follow that he (Amśuvarman) too used Harsha era. It has been further pointed out that no other era meets the requirements of the case. But does the Harsha era satisfy all the requirements? The latest date of Amśuvarman is 45 = 650-51 A. D. By 642 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim had finished his sojourn in India and he tells us that when he was here Amśuvarman was dead.²¹ Yet we are asked to believe that Amśuvarman was reigning in 651 A. D. As for the Nepalese Vamśāvalī far better authorities than the present writer have repeatedly pointed out its worthless character. So the less said about it the better. Thus it is very difficult to say what Bāṇa meant by "*tushāra, śaila etc*". I think that the stanzas 101-2 (of Bāṇa's work) remind us more of the traditional way of Indian poets glorifying their patron king than any sense in the real conquests by Harsha.

Kajaṅgala—Yuan Chawang tells us that the native dynasty was extinguished and the country passed under the suzerainty of the neighbouring state. The only neighbouring kingdom that we know of was that of Śaśāṅka. We are further told by the same authority that Harsha held one of his camps there. This was probably during one of his various campaigns against Śaśāṅka.

The Chinese pilgrim mentions no king for Puṇḍravardhana, Samatata, Tāmralipti, and Karnaśuvarna. These places were certainly included within the kingdom of Śaśāṅka. When Śaśāṅka was defeated or died we do not know. That he had a natural death we may infer from the story narrated by the Chinese pilgrim in connection with the uprooting of the *Mahābodhi trees*, and Śaśāṅka's attempt to destroy an image of Bodhisattva. As a result of which we are told that "His body produced sores and rotted off and after a while he died."²² Yuan Chawang throughout his work has exposed the alleged oppressions and misdeeds of Śaśāṅka wherever he could, and therefore it is very surprising to find him not mentioning the king when his capital was being described.

²⁰ J.B.O.R.S. 1923.

²¹ *Beal Records of the Western World* Vol. II p. 81.

²² *Beal The Chinese Records of the Western World* Vol II p. 121.

The most probable conclusion that can be drawn from this is—that Śaśāṅka had ceased to reign in this region at the time of Yuan Chawang's visit. The Nidhanpur plates inform us that Karpasuvārṇa was the scene of *Jayaskandhāvāra* of Bhāskaravarman.²³ It is, therefore, quite probable that hemmed in from two sides, by Harsha and Bhaskaravarman the Bengal king lost his dominions, and retired to Orissa.

Kāmarupa—Bāṇa tells us that at the very outset of his campaigns against Śaśāṅka, his alliance was sought by the Kāmarupa king. But it would be a great mistake if this alliance is taken as a sign of dependency of Kāmarupa to Kanauj. Harsha's alliance was sought by Bhaskaravarman to humble his rival in Eastern India, but he thereby did not surrender his independence. Mere alliance does not signify suzerainty. This fact is further confirmed by the fact that the Kāmarupa king refused at first to send the Chinese pilgrim to Harsha when asked to do so.²⁴

Kaṅgoda—It is extremely doubtful whether Harsha was ever able to dominate Orissa permanently. Upto 619-20 A. D. Kaṅgoda owned the suzerainty of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarman, who himself seems to have been a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal. I agree with late Mr. R. D. Banerji that there is very little evidence to suppose that Orissa was ever included within the Empire of Harsha.²⁵ It is true that the evidence of the '*Life of Hiuen-Tsang*' leads us to conjecture that Harsha was compelled to make various raids in the Kaṅgoda maṇḍala, but the late scholar seems to be right in thinking that even after Harsha's last campaign in Kaṅgoda and Orissa, the Śailodbhavas remained independent. No king of that dynasty ever acknowledged the suzerainty of the great Emperor of Thaneshwar. Finally, the *Parikud* plates of Madhyamarāja prove that Harsha was not able to destroy the Śailodbhavas and that the descendants of Mādhavaraja II continued to rule in Kaṅgoda.²⁶ Thus we see that in Eastern India the utmost that Harsha's Empire could comprise was west Bengal. That Harsha's empire did not include Orissa is further proved by the fact that though hundreds of inscriptions have been discovered in Orissa, not a single one has been found in which Harsha or his era is referred to.

On the west Harsha's empire went utmost to Malwa (the eastern part of it), which was raided by his father Prabhākara and finally conquered by Rājyavardhana. As for western Malwa or *Mo-la-po* of the Chinese pilgrim, it was never permanently annexed to the Kanauj empire. It formed a part of the powerful kingdom of Maitrakas of Valabhi. The name of the reigning sovereign was Durlabhabhata (Dhruvasena II 630-40 A. D.) who was the son-in-law of Śīlāditya of Kanauj,

23 *ibid.* I. XII, 24 *See Life of Hiuen Tsang* p. 122.

25 Banerji *History of Orissa* Vol. I, pp. 129-31.

26 *Ibid* pp. 130-31.

according to the Chinese pilgrim. His statement is clear and simple. Nowhere he has even alluded to the dependency of Valabhi to the imperial power of Kanauj. No epigraphical or literary evidence exists which clearly suggests that Dhruvasena II was feudatory of Harsha. Yet there are scholars who have tried to assert that such was the case. On the other hand there are two copper-plates which clearly prove Valabhi occupation of Malwa during the reign of the very Dhruvasena II. These two copper-plates were found a few years ago in Rutlam State. The first grant states that the king made a grant of land on the eastern boundary of the village of Navagrāmaka in the district of Mālāvaka to certain brahmins. The grant is issued from his capital at Valabhi. It is dated in the year 320 of the Gupta Era. The second grant is dated in the following year, that is 321, and is issued as usual from Valabhi. It records the grant of land on the southern boundary of the village of Chandraputraka in the district of Mālāvaka. The village of Navagrāmaka has been identified with the village of Nogawa in the Rutlam State, and the other place names cannot be identified.²⁷ These plates certainly prove that during the years 320-21 = A. D. 639-40 the western parts of the present Malwa were included within the kingdom of Valabhi. Dr. Mukherji says that "In the west his conquests included the kingdom of Valabhi." The same authority is further of opinion that at first the Valabhi king sought the protection of Dadda, but later on received back his kingdom as a vassal of Harsha, or even as his son-in-law.²⁸ Mr. N. Roy also agrees with this view.²⁹

The evidence on which these scholars mostly rely is the Naosari grant of the Gurjara king Dadda which gives us the following information: "*Parameswara Śrī-Harsha devābhibhūto Śrī Valabhi-pati vati (ri) trāna-pojata-bhramād adhabhra-vibhrama-yaśo vitānah-Śrī Daddas*." "..... illustrious Dadda.....over whom hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory gained by protecting (delivering) the lord of Valabhi who was defeated by the great lord Harshadeva."³⁰

From the above quotation two facts emerge. The first is that Valabhi king was defeated by Harsha. The second is that he was rescued by Dadda, that is, he received some help from Dadda in regaining his kingdom. About this Mr. N. Roy writes "Accepting the translation as it stands, does it show that the Valabhi king regained his kingdom with the help of Dadda." It might be pointed out that though the

²⁷ *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII pp. 1888-99.

²⁸ *Harsha* p. 30.

²⁹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III pp. 776-77,

³⁰ *J. A.* XIII pp. 70-80

inscription does not clearly say so, it has undoubtedly such an implication. How can a man gain everlasting fame by merely giving protection? He might be applauded for the time being for having dared to affront such a powerful ruler as Harsha, but the everlasting fame which is alluded to in the inscription clearly implies some sort of concrete help. Therefore the conclusion that Dadda helped Dhruvasena II to regain his kingdom is most probable.

The very fact that Dhruvasena later on became a son-in-law of Harsha confirms our theory. Finding him too strong to be brought under control, Harsha ended the matter by giving his daughter in marriage. It is unusual for a paramount sovereign of Northern India to offer his own daughter in marriage to a defeated feudatory. The instance of marriage of Chandra Gupta II's daughter might be brought forward in support of our theory. Prabhavatiguptā the Imperial Gupta princess, was married to the Vākātaka Rudrasena II not because the Vakātakas were feudatories of the Guptas, *but because Chandragupta found them too strong to be conquered, and their alliance was necessary for safeguarding his left flank in his campaign against Mālava*.³¹ Further the Kanauj-Valabhi marriage was necessitated by other considerations. We have already seen that Dadda affronted Harsha. How is it that he, a prince of a house that never even assumed sovereign titles, defied a powerful monarch like Harsha? A passage in the Aihole inscription in this instance solves the puzzle. It says. —

"Pratāponata Lāṭa-Mālavaḥ-Gurjarah,

Dandopanata sāmanta charyācharyāḥ" ³²

This passage clearly shows who was at the back of Dadda. Harsha probably tried to penetrate to the south, and it is quite possible that it was this desire that led him to invade Valabhi. But the scales turned against him. The kings of that quarter finding themselves not strong enough, for Harsha hastened to seek the protection of the Chalukya power of the south. Thus finding himself foreshadowed Harsha thought it prudent to win back Dhruvasena II to his side by the marriage alliance. How far he was successful in this diplomatic gesture is borne out by subsequent history. The Valabhi king instead of remaining an enemy became a loyal friend.

There are some scholars who would take Harsha's empire as far west as modern Sindh. But this is not possible because the Chinese pilgrim distinctly tells us that during his time Sindh was ruled by a

³¹ Banerji *The Gupta Empire and its Culture*. Benares University p. 34.

³² *E. I.* VI pp. 6-10 verse 22.

śudra monarch.³³ The theory that Harsha's dream of a southern conquest suffered a rude shock and met with a premature end can no longer hold ground. Formerly on the evidence supplied by some Chalukyan inscriptions such as the Aihole inscriptions of Pulakesi II, scholars believed that Harsha failed to cross the Vindhya. Yuan Chawang also tells us that Harsha was defeated by the Chalukyan king.³⁴ This evidence was certainly sufficient as nothing contradicting it was available. But that position is now changed.

In 1926 Pandit S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstrī drew our attention to a passage of '*Mayura*' eulogizing Harsha as lord of Kuntala and some other countries south of the Vindhya. Besides this, another point is noticeable that unlike Bāṇa and the Chinese pilgrim the poet calls Harsha, *king of Madhyadesa*.³⁵ In 1923 the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore reported the discovery of an inscription at Gaddemanne in the Shimoga district of the state. The inscription records that *one Pettani Satyāṅka a brave soldier of Harsha's army fell fighting the Bedars, and the defeat of the Bedars made Mahendra to fly in terror*. The epigraph is undated but on paleographical grounds, is placed in the seventh century A.D. by the learned editor, and he takes Harsha to be no other than the Kanauj king.³⁶

Now, the first point that arises after our knowledge of the above mentioned inscription is as to when and how Harsha went to Shimoga district in Mysore. It is quite natural to suppose that according to the new light the idea that Harsha suffered defeat at the hands of his southern rival at the beginning will have to be given up. Because, Harsha could not have gone to the south after the crushing defeat on the banks of the Nerbudda. Therefore, it is evident that the battle on the river bank was not fought at the beginning of Harsha's attempt to dominate the south, but it marks the end of a melancholy failure. What were his exact conquests we do not know. But the causes of his failure are not far to seek. First it was due to the hostility of the local tribes like the Bedars. These were a fierce fighting tribe of aboriginal origin. Centuries after the downfall of the short lived supremacy of Harsha, they became one of the causes of dismemberment of a far greater power, the Moghul Empire. In combination with the Maharattas they repeatedly defeated and defied the imperial armies of Aurangzeb.³⁷ Then there were the Pallavas of Kanchi and other powers of south India, and last but not

33 ~~Watters~~ Yuan Chawang

34 *Beal Life* p. 147.

35 *J.R.A.S.* 1926 p. 487.

36 *Mysore Archaeological Survey, Annual Report 1923* p. 83 ff. No 72.

37 *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. VI pp. 353-68.

the least the Chalukyas of Badami. Before we conclude, it must be borne in mind that the evidence at our disposal does not permit us to hold that Harsha's conquest in the south was of a permanent nature. Most probably it was merely a raid and Harsha's dream of a southern empire was forever shattered by Pulakesi II on the banks of the Reva. Such a raid is not unparalleled in Indian History. From time immemorial all Indian kings have dreamt and attempted to become a *Rājachakravartin*. Harsha was no exception to this. He therefore tried to penetrate to the south by the west and invaded Valabhi. But he was thwarted by a combination of the Chalukya, Gurjara, and Valabhi kingdoms. He had to return the dominions of the Maitraka king and recognize his independence. He not only saw his project completely smashed but what was more dangerous to him, the influence of his southern rival had become menacing on his south-western frontier. It is quite evident that in order to divert the Chalukya king's attention from the west he would plan a campaign in the south carrying his arms to the very heart of the enemy's country. There is nothing new in such raids. Thus in the Radhanpur grant we are told that Dhruva—Dhārāvārṣha drove Vatsarāja to the trackless desert and took from him the two white umbrellas of the kings of Bengal.³⁸ Then in Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsh I, Govina III is described as overlord of Kerala, Mālava, Gauḍa, Gurjaras, etc.³⁹ But is it possible for one moment to think that these countries were permanently annexed to the Rashtrakuta dominions? Thus we see that the raid such as Harsha made is not quite unknown in Indian history.

Before we end our discussion about Harsha's Empire we shall have to take into consideration one more point. The Chalukya records invariably describe Harsha as '*Sakalottarāpatheśvara*.' Thus in the Vakkeri inscription it is stated '*Samara-saṁsakta-sakalottarāpatheśvara-Śrī Harshavardhana parājaya-patta-parameśvara sabdas*.'⁴⁰ Was Harsha then really the supreme ruler of Northern India? In order to answer this question we shall have to consider the extent of northern India. The very mention of the term now, sets our mind imagining a country extending from Kashmir on the north to Vindhya on the south and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. In ancient times, as we shall see in the following lines, the denomination of the term northern India varied from time to time. The first mention of the term *Uttarāpatha* is in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Emperor Kharavela.⁴¹ The *Mahābhārata* not only includes in it Gāndhāra (modern Peshawar district), but

³⁸ *E.I.* VI verse 8, 11, 12-14.

³⁹ *Ibid* pp. 102-3, 11 6-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid* V. p. 202.

⁴¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*

also the Kambojas of Rajaur valley and Kafiristhan, and Yonas of Kabul valley.⁴² The late General Cunningham was of opinion that according to the Chinese writers Northern India consisted of Punjab proper, Kashmir, and the adjoining hill states with the whole of eastern Afganistan.⁴³ An inscription of the time of Āla, Emperor Devapāla, calls Nagarahāra (now represented by some ruins near modern Jelalabad) as "*Uttarapatha vibhushana*."

"Astyuttarāpatha-vibhushana bhutabhumi,

Deśottama Nagarahāra iti pratita,

Tatra devajati rudritodita-vamsajammā

*Nānendragupta iti rājasaṅghā babhūva.*⁴⁴

Thus we see that from the early times some parts of Afghanistan were considered to be included within Northern India. The southern limit also varied from time to time. Thus in one of the Jātakas certain horse-dealers coming to Benares are described as coming from Uttarāpatha.⁴⁵ Rājaśekhara the author of *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* describes Uttarāpatha as beyond Pehoa (*prithudaka paratah*).⁴⁶ If we consider this definition of Uttarāpatha together with the following passage from Bāna, we can easily decide the exact value to be given to the term '*śaḥkalottarāpatha-śvara*' of the Chalukyan inscriptions. Describing Rājāvardhana's expedition against the Hunas the poet says "*Atna Kālāchidraja Rājyavardhanam . . . Hunāntum . . . aparimitam valānuyātam chīranta nair amātyair anuraktaiścha mahāsāmantaiḥ Uttarāpatham prāhi-*"⁴⁷ Thus on the Confession of Harsha's court poet his ancestral dominions,—*Śrkantha* lay outside Uttarāpatha, and in the case of Harsha the utmost limit that his dominions could go in the north was Jālandhara, which as we have already seen is very doubtful. But even supposing that Jālandhara was included within his kingdom there is no ground to hold that he was the lord of the whole of Northern India. Then the question naturally arises what was the justification for the adjective used in the Chalukyan inscriptions? There can be two answers to this question. The first is that they were ignorant of the true denomination of the term Uttarāpatha, which is absurd. The second is that it is the traditional way of ancient Indian poets to glorify the patron king even at the cost of truth. But it would be a grave injustice to them if we think that this habit was peculiar to the Hindus only. Those who have gone through the Greek accounts of the invasion of India by Alexander know fully well how

42 *Mahabharata* XII 207. 43.

43 Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India* (Old edition) p. 12.

44 *I. A.* XVII p. 30.

45 *Jātakas* II 287 p. 15.

46 *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Gāikawad Oriental Series.) p. 94 line 8.

47 *Fuhrer Harsha Charita* (Bombay Sanskrit Series) Vol. LXVI p. 211.

small tribal states of the Punjab and North-western India have been represented by them as great nations opposing the Greek invader with vast armies. The main idea of the poets who composed the Chalukyan inscriptions, was to glorify Pulakesi II; therefore they described Harsha as Empeaor of all Northern India, so that the triumph of their king might be considered great, and humility of his rival complete.

To sum up, Harsha's hegemony extended on the north from the banks of the Śatruđu to the Nerbuda on the south and from the borders of west Malwa to the sub-mountain region of the Himalayas on the east. The aim of the present writer is not to minimise the importance of Harsha, but it is a form of protest against the extravagant claims made on his behalf by certain modern admirers of his. Thus one recent writer is of opinion that "On no occasion was the earlier Muslim invaders of India called upon to meet a mighty Indian ruler. No Asoka, Kanishka or Harsha, arose to defend the rich and alluring plains." In another place "...in Northern India the Empire of Harsha had dissolved on his death in the preceeding century, and no power had succeeded to the hegemony"⁴⁸ Only one case need be mentioned to prove the falsity of the above hypothesis. I mean the empire of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who were in no way inferior to that of Harsha, and perhaps were greater. The Arab writers themselves have in unmeasured terms described the power and splendour of the Jurzs. Originally of non-Aryan origin they adopted Hinduism and were so completely assimilated with the indigenous people and their culture that they did not hesitate to claim to be descendants of the famous solar dynasty of the Rāmāyaṇa. As long as their empire lasted no follower of the prophet was allowed to overrun the green valleys of Āryāvarta. It was when their empire became dismembered due to treachery, treason and disunion that the gates of Northern India were no more well guarded to prevent the hungry millions of Central Asia to carry fire and sword from the Hindu Kush to Cape Comorin. All this is not mere panegyric but facts confessed by Muslim historians themselves.⁴⁹ But these facts are absolutely ignored. As for the prowess and military genius of Harsha, he was undoubtedly possessed of these qualities, but at the same time it must not be forgotten that he had to return the Valabhi dominion to its *de jure* sovereign, and recognize its independence. His ill conceived campaign in the south turned out to be a failure, at the end of which he received such a shattering blow that he never recovered from it. He was certainly a remarkable ruler but can neither be compared with Asoka, Kanishka, and Samudragupta nor be regarded as conqueror of 'five Indias.'

⁴⁸ *Cambridge History of India* Vol. III p 506.

⁴⁹ *Elliot History of India* Vol. I p. 21 ff. Muzumdar *Gurjara Pratihāras*
 • *Journal of Dept. of Letters Calcutta University* Vol. X.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KAKATIYAS.

Ganapati (continued)

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We have thus far stated that Ganapati completed his conquest of the Vengi country by about 1225 A. D. Inscriptions show that his attention was next turned towards the Kalinga country. We have previously stated that the country north of the Godavary up to Bhadrachalam was annexed by Ganapati's uncle Rudra. Inscriptions at Draksharama mention the Ganga king Ananga Bhima and his general Jesrāja, "conqueror of the Vengi country," in the year 1230.¹ Probably the Gangas invaded and occupied the upper Godavary region about this year. Kakatiya inscriptions and contemporary literature speak of a Kakatiya conquest of Kalinga which might be conveniently divided into three phases. The first phase is described in the *Sivayoga Sāraṃu* in which Induluri Somaya, a brahmin general, is said to have conquered *Kodulanādu*, crossed the Godavary, annexed the agency tracts and consolidated the area lying between Warangal and the Bay of Bengal.² The Uparpalle inscription of the time of Ganapati mentions that Rajayanāyaka, a subordinate of the king's general Recherla Rudra, slew many heroes at Bokkera, subjugated Udayagiri, and worshipped at Draksharama.³ This may be said to have been the second campaign and dated about 1240 A. D. A third time between the years 1235-50, the Kakatiya subordinate Hēmadri Reddi seems to have penetrated into Kalinga.⁴ While from 1254 onwards a certain Kālapanangaka seems to have ruled over this disputed territory.⁵

We should next consider Ganapati's relations with the Telugu Choda families. Inscriptions in the Nellore district indicate that this Monarch's influence extended into the Ongole, Darsi and Podili taluks even by 1215 A.D.⁶ By 1221 A.D. Oppili Siddhi II of the Pottapi branch

1. S. I. I. nos. 1360 & 1339.

2. Ref. the vers. ఇలవరపైఠానం etc.

3. Hyd. Arch. S. No. 3. p. 16.

4. S. I. I. IV, nos. 1045 & 1252

5. *Ibid* 603.

6. Nel. Ins. O. . .

seems to have been conquered by Ganapati and probably the rulers of Kopidenā as well.⁷ In an inscription of 1240 A. D. a certain Mādhava of the Chakra Narayana line, and of the Senna family, is mentioned as a feudatory of Ganapatideva.⁸ The Nellore branch alone remained outside the pale of the Kakatiyas. Soon however, Manma Siddhi, the ruler of Nellore and son of the famous Chola Tikka, was ousted from his throne by a combination of his relatives and rivals and the famous Telugu poet Tikkana Somayaji is said to have gone over to Ganapatideva, with a request to intercede on behalf of his patron Manmasiddhi.⁹ Whatever the truth of this tradition, Ganapati seems to have invaded Nellore, repelled the enemies of the Choda king and replaced him on his throne.¹⁰ This event may be dated about 1245 A. D. This led Ganapati into conflict with two of the enemies of Manmasiddhi one of them was Sārangapānideva son of Madhava of the Senna line. This chieftain is said to have been often at war with Manmasiddhi and must have been subjugated very soon after the restoration of the T. Choda ruler.¹¹ The second rival was Gangaya Sahini of the Kayastha family and ruler over the extensive territory between Panagal in the Nizam's dominions and the Chintamani taluk of the Mysore state. This chieftain appears as a feudatory of Ganapati since 1250 A. D. and his subjugation made the Kakatiyas masters of most of the modern Ceded districts.¹²

Thus by 1250 A. D. the Kakatiya empire extended up to Aska in the Ganjam District on the East Coast, Nellore in the South, and the Bellary District on the West. Ganapati ruled over this extensive territory from Hanumakonda, the ancient capital, till 1253 A. D.¹³ Next year onwards, he figures as "*Ūrugallu-purn-varadhisvera*" and evidently he shifted the capital to Warangal in 1254 A.D.¹⁴

Inscriptions contain clear indications of Kakatiya rivalry with the Pandyas and the Pallava feudatory Kopperungurga and these may be interpreted in the light of contemporary history. During the feeble rule of the Chola king Kulottunga III, there was great confusion in South India. Many contending powers used him as a stake in their own games. Chola Likka of Nellore interfered in these South Indian affairs, defeated the Pandyas and the Hoysalas and restored the Chola monarch.¹⁵ After

7. E. R. 123 of 1899. also see E. R. 1909 p. 20.

8. Nel. Ins. O. 76.

9. The Pratapacharitam & the Ekasilānagara-Vrittāntamu. Etc.

10. E. R. 69 of 1922.

11. Nel. Ins. Vol. II, The Sarangapur Ins.

12. Andhrula Charitramu Vol. II p. 260. See also L. R. of Ouddapah and Kurnool.

13. E. R. Nos. 273, 195 & 223 of 1905-06. Nel. Ins. O. 28.

14. E. R. 231 of 1905.

15. Ref. the Nirvachanottara Ramayanamu of Tikkana—the introductory portion.

his death his son Manmasiddhi was busy with internecine quarrels at home and was himself dethroned by about 1240 A. D. The Pandyas took advantage of this and occupied Kanchi while Kopperunginga "drove the Telungār to the North". He seems to have penetrated far into the Telugu country, though in the end Ganapati defeated and subjugated him. In an inscription at Draksharāṇṇa, a certain chieftain bearing the titles *Avanyavarōdbharṇa* and *Kāthakapuri* figures as instituting a *Kāthaku mahotsava* in honour of *Kākatipati*. In the same record occur two explicit references to Ganapatideva.¹⁶ Having thus repelled this intruder, Ganapati despatched the general Sānantabhōja to Kanchi. Very soon the Pandyas were driven away.¹⁷ But this was only a temporary success; for, in 1250 A.D. the Pandyas returned with redoubled vigour, defeated and drove away the Kakatiya general and besieged and conquered Nellore also.¹⁸

This brings us to the last days of Ganapati. He was not able to retaliate this Pandyan attack owing to old age and pre-occupations at home. That he entered the field of war along with his father in 1198-99 shows that he was a youth at that time. Subsequently he spent ten years as a prisoner at Devagiri. His actual rule lasted from 1209—1261 A. D. Thus he must have been nearly eighty years old at the time of this Pandyan attack.¹⁹ Moreover, Ganapati was now bent upon fortifying his daughter's position as the heir-apparent to the vast empire built by him. The poet Vidyānādhya states that he used to give her practical training in the administration of the realm and inscriptions prove that the princess was associated with the government since 1258 A.D. We may conclude therefore that Ganapati spent his last days in peace and devotion. He came under the influence of Viśvēśvara Siva of the Gōlagi school, gave him many gifts and did much to propagate the Saiva faith in the Telugu country.²⁰ Ganapati passed away in 1261 A. D. after a glorious rule of sixty two years, marked by an untiring zeal for political expansion, sublime devotion for learning and art, unprecedented in Kakatiya history.

Ganapati's subordinates--(1) The Recherla family of Pillalamarri played an important part in Ganapati's reign. Rudra, the most famous member of this line, saved the Kakatiya kingdom from imminent destruction during Ganapati's imprisonment. He also seems to have been

16. S. I. I. IV No. 1342 A and C In this occur the expressions కౌశలీకుళరాజశ్రీజ్ఞాప్రవక్తయతాం and కౌశలీ (కౌశలీ ప) దానవింశ మధ్యరాయమానా మనసేన (The bracketed portion is supplied by me.)

17. The Ekāmrānātha Inscription I.A. XXI

18. Nel. Ins. Vol. III p. 830 No. 16. E.R. No. 32 of 1891 and 118 of 1894.

19. Tradition says that Ganapati lived for eighty years.

20. Ref. the Malkapur pillar inscription published in the pages of this Journal

responsible for the Kakatiya conquest of Kalinga. He was, besides, a great builder and the famous temples on the Ramappa lake bank are immortal vestiges of Rudra's artistic patronage. Nāmi Reddi, a member of one of the collateral branches of this family, made many gifts and charities at Pillalmarri, Nagulpādu etc., and erected a number of beautiful temples. This family lapsed into obscurity after 1258 A. D. 21

(2) The Kāyastha family - Gangaya Sahini the first member of this feudatory family has been already mentioned in connection with Ganapati's conquest of the Telugu Chodas. He was a very powerful chieftain and ruler over an extensive area. The Local Records of the Ceded districts abound in references to his many deeds of valour and charity. He was greatly assisted by his relative Jannigadeva and the minister Nāmadēva pandita.

(3) The Ayya family--How Jayapanayaka of this family held the lower Kristna Delta after the fall of the Velnādu rulers and how Ganapati reduced him to submission and made him the commander of his elephant forces has been already mentioned.

(4) Mallyāla family—The history of this subordinate family is to be known from inscriptions at Kondiparti and Būdapūr in the Nizam's dominions. Kātachamupati, Chaunda Chamupati, and Gunda Daṇḍādhi-nādhā of this family are said to have served in Ganapati's victorious army and are also credited with the construction of many temples and tanks at Būdapūr and Kondiparti.²²

(5) Indulūri family—This brahmin family rose to prominence even in the time of Prola II. Sōmaya of this family was mainly responsible for the conquest of Kolanipura and came to be since known as Kolani Soma. He also conducted a campaign into Kalinga.²³

(6) Telugu Chodas—We have already mentioned that Ganapati subjugated Oppili Siddhi II of the Potapi family. He was for some time the governor over Velnadu and Nellore. An inscription from Nandalūr states that Kannaradeva Choda of the Konidena branch was one of the generals of Ganapatideva.²⁴

Officials—Inscriptions reveal the names of a number of officials of Ganapati. Tikka Chamūpati, Manchirāzu, Pōtana, the patron of the poet Sūryadēva, Gaṇapāmātya, Bhāskara, Govindanayaka, and Bayyananayaka—these were some of the ministers of this monarch. Mēchaya-

21. Refer my paper on "The Recherla family" in Vol. V. pt. iii. of this journal.

22. The estampages of these inscriptions are preserved by the Lakshmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandali of Hyderabad.

23. The Siva Yogasāramu—Introduction.

24. E. R. 805 of 1922.

nayaka was the Mayor of the capital while Prōla Rautu, Siviri Annaya and Dāmanāmātya served as Ganapati's Secretaries.²⁵

Economic condition—The Andhra country saw great prosperity during the long and victorious reign of Ganapatideva. The numerous annexations greatly improved the finances of the State while the strong arm of its ruler afforded peace and security to the trader and cultivator. There are two very important records which give us an insight into the economic condition of those times. The Motupalli pillar inscription indicates how foreign commerce flourished at that time. Ganapati guaranteed complete security to all the foreign traders that touched at the Motupalli port and revoked all the oppressive taxes imposed upon them by previous rulers. The amount of customs to be collected on each commodity was specified and engraved on a pillar for the sake of public information. From these regulations, it can be inferred that the merchants of Andhra traded with foreigners in sandal, camphor, spices, ivory, pearls, coral and silk. The general Siddhayadeva was the governor at Motupalli. Another inscription at Warangal gives a detailed account of several articles of inland trade and the various duties levied on them by the State. All vegetables and pulses were taxed on the basis of a cart-load, while many other measurable commodities were taxed on the basis of their money value. Sandal, camphor, musk, silk, pearls and spices were assessed according to their weight. There was besides another tax called *Mājāma* while a separate one was levied on salt.

Religion—We have previously stated that during the reign of Rudra, the Virasaiva faith spread in the Telugu country. In the reign of Ganapati, an institution of great importance found its way into this country. This was the Gōlagi school. In the Dāhala region, between the Ganges and the Narmada, there lived a famous Saivite saint called Sadbhāva śambhu. Having received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king, his disciple, this saint instituted a matha called Gōlagi and made over the villages to it. The disciples of this saint multiplied in numbers and soon found patronage with the rulers of Gauda, Rāḍha and Kēraḷa. One of them was Visvesvera Siva, a great scholar and a devout Saiva. He was the *Dikshāguru* of the Chola and Kalachuri kings. At some time in his reign probably towards the end, Ganapati came under the influence of this Saiva teacher, and took his initiation from him. Ganapati's devotion for this teacher was so great that he made the latter the president of his Educational Council. The Malkapur inscription describes the scholarship and achievements of this Visvesvera Siva. Towards the close of his reign Ganapati gave the village of Mandaram, on the southern banks of the river Krishna, as a gift to this teacher while his daughter Rudramba granted Velangapūndi, herself.

²⁵ E. R. 530 of 1925, 208 & 245 of 1905, 330 of 1915, 537 of 1125 & 383 of 1934.

Thereafter the Saiva teacher constructed there a matha known as Visvesvera Gōlagi and undoubtedly this became an important centre for the spread of the Saiva faith. Inscriptions show that other branches of the Gōlagi school existed at Pushpagiri and Tripurāntakam in the Telugu country.²⁶ According to tradition, the Saivite revival and propaganda had a pernicious effect on the Jains. Till then the Jains were firmly established in the Telugu country. It is not known to what extent Vira Saiva effected them in the Telugu country. Probably they suffered much from it as their brothers had done in other parts of the country. But tradition unanimously asserts that under the influence of the minister and scholar Sivadeviah, Ganapati embarked upon a policy of wholesale destruction of the Jains. On another occasion also, the same persecution is mentioned. It seems, that when the poet Tikkana Sōmayaji came to the Kakatiya court, to request Ganapati to help his patron Manma Siddhi of Nellore, a serious controversy took place between the Saivas and the Jains in which the latter were ultimately worsted. Thereon, it is said that under the poet's supervision, hordes of Jains were killed and tortured. The truth of this tradition has got to be determined by future researches.

Buildings:—The reign of Ganapati is a fruitful field for the student of Kakatiya art. It witnessed constructive activity of an unprecedented type and some of the best temples were erected during this reign. The Ramappa temple alone is sufficient in the massiveness of its structure, exquisite architecture, and expressiveness of sculpture to vie with the buildings of any other Dekkan dynasty. This and the other temples at Palampet, Pillalamarri, Nagulpadu and other places are standing testimonies of the artistic genius of the Kakatiya times. It was the fashion in those days for rich and munificent persons to dig lakes of a gigantic size.—e.g.—those at Ramappa, Pakhala, the Jagatkēsari tank, the Kātasamudra and Chaundasamudra. Ganapati is also credited with the erection of the four gateways in the Warangal fort which according to Fergusson stand next in excellence to the famous gateways of Sānchi. He had the Vimāna of the Tripurāntakam shrine reconstructed while tradition mentions that he brought black granite stone from Srisailam for use in the construction of buildings in the capital. It is said that he had a brick wall erected round Ēkasilānagara.

Chapter IV. Rudramba, 1258—1296. A. D.

All sources are agreed in stating that Rudramba ascended the Kakatiya throne after the death of Ganapatideva, in 1261 A. D. We have previously shown on the basis of a Būdapūr record, that the queen was associated with the administration of the realm even from 1258 A. D. Till some years ago there has been a difference of opinion regarding Rudramba's relation to Ganapati. On the basis of the writings of Marco

Polak, the commentary on the Prataparudriya, the traditional accounts contained in the Sōmadēvarajīyam etc. scholars like Messrs. Lakshmana Rao, Viresalingam, Sreeramamurti concluded that the queen was Ganapati's daughter.²⁷ Dr. Hultzsch was the first to point out the falsity of this theory and contend on the basis of the Prataparudriya, that she was his daughter.²⁸ Later Mr. C. Virabhadrarao adduced the Malkapur pillar inscription in his favour and supported Hultzsch's contention. Subsequent researches have brought to light abundant material both literary and epigraphical which proves unequivocally that the latter view is correct and sets this controversy at rest. Mr. Sewell mentions an inscription at Kakāni in the Krishna district. The Kaluvacheru inscription of Anitalli states that after Ganapati's death, his daughter Rudramadevi protected the earth as well as him.²⁹ The Kotagiri plates of the time of Rubramba, the Kolanipaka and the Panagal inscriptions and the *Sivayogasāramu*, a saivite work,³⁰ unanimously state that the queen was Ganapati's daughter.

The husband of this famous queen has been till now unknown. On the basis of a Draksharama record which mentions a Malladeva as the son-in-law of Ganapati, Mr. Sreeramamurti has tried to identify him with the husband of Rudramba and with the Vishnuvardhana Mallapa who ruled at Pittapur at the beginning of the 13th century. But the chronology of the queen's life does not admit of this identification. Mr. Virabhadrarao discussed this view at length and concluded that it can be safely laid down that Rudramba's husband was one of the Kakatiya feudatories and that he must have died quite young. Two inscriptions recently discovered throw much light on this problem. An inscription reviewed in the Ep. Report for 1920 mentions a Virabhadreswara of the Chalukyan family as the husband of the queen.³¹ But another record at Kolanipaka takes us a step further when it states that this Virabhadra was the elder son of Indusekhara of the Chalukyan family. The inscrip-

27. History of the Andhras, Vol. II. p. 297-300.

28. I. A. 1892 p. 198.

29. పితృ పుత్రేంద్రవర్మ కు విభిన్నాక్షిణిం

వీరుద్రమదేవీని దుహితృమహిరాక్షాః "Kaluvacheru Ins."

30.హితృంద్రవర్మ

పయోనిధే వా మా శ్రీమద్రదేవీ సతా "Kolanupaka Ins."

31. వెండియు గణ పతి భవతీ

మంగళపతి పుత్రీ గుర్రమహాదేవి లోకన్. "Sivayogasaramu"

Sewell's Antiquities Vol. V. p. 74-75 and E. R. Nos. 94 of 1917 and 740 of 1920 may be also consulted in this connection.

31. * 740 of 1920.

tion records a gift of 30 *nivartanas* of land by this Virabhadra.³² Probably a Chalukyan family existed in the neighbourhood of Kollipakā and for some reason or other Ganapati contracted a matrimonial alliance with this family,

Tradition states that Rudramba lived for eighty years. It is known definitely that she died in 1296 A. D. On the basis of the Malkapuram pillar inscription and the date contained in some of the traditional works, it is possible to infer that Rudramba's grandson Pratapa Rudra was born in 1254 A. D.³³ So, the queen must have been at least thirty years old by this date. It is evident then that Rudramba must have been born by about 1220 A. D. In that case she would be seventy six years old at the time of her death.

Rebellions—The death of Ganapati and the accession of his daughter let loose the forces of destruction. Many rival chieftains invaded the country while the feudatories asserted independence. Inscriptions at Tripurantakam and the titles of some of the Kakatiya generals of this time, indicate the names of some of these rival chieftains. The Chola king Kulottunga and the Telugu Choda chieftain Siddhayadeva seem to have invested the Kurnool district but were soon repelled by the general Tripurantaka. Ambadeva is said to have defeated Mallideva Choda, Somideva Mallikarjuna and Dāmōdara of the west. Kopperunginga also seems to have invaded the Telugu country at this time but met with a crushing defeat. Ambadeva also punished Manumaganda Gopāla of Nellore and Vijayaganda Gopāla of Kānchi.³⁴ Soon after these rebellions and invasions were put down, the Kakatiya queen had to face a Yadava invasion from the North. In his *Vrutakhandi*, Hemādri mentions that, being afraid of the Yadava king Mahādēva, the Andhras made a woman their overlord.³⁵ In another place it is said that the Yadava king invaded Warangal, and took away in battle the stately elephants and the musical instruments of the Andhras but spared their queen Rudramba since she was a woman.³⁶ But traditional histories of the Kakatiyas credit the Andhras with success in this fight. Whatever the truth of these assertions, the Kakatiyas do not seem to have suffered much from the effects of these wars.

But for these initial troubles Rudramba's reign was entirely peaceful. Many veteran generals and ministers of Ganapati's time watched

32. Ref. Ugadi Sanchika 1930—31.

33. These points will be discussed at length in "Ch. V Pratapa Rudra."

34. M. R. Nos. 196 & 201 of 1905.

35. ఇక్ష్మం విశిష్టత్యుత్తరభి భీతై

రంధ్రైః పురంధ్రీని హితానుపత్యై|| "Rajaprasasti verse 14."

36. యస్తస్మైవరణే జనరకరిణః సత్సంచకబ్ధాదకాన్

యస్తత్కౌజ వధూవధాదుపరతః సద్భూభుజాం మగ్రమాం. "Introduction verse 52"

over the welfare of the country while the queen devoted herself to much constructive activity. She is said to have built many temples and made many charities. Tradition mentions that out of their respect for the queen, the people set up many villages called "Ambāla" after her name. Rudramba is, in all respects, comparable to her famous contemporary Sultana Rezia of Delhi.

Officials: (1) The Kāyastha family—Gangaya died by this time and was succeeded by Jannigadeva who played a prominent part in repelling the rival chieftains who invaded the Telugu country at the beginning of the reign. He was an ardent Saiva and a pupil of Śāntapūrva Sivadhāsika. After him his nephews Tripurantaka and Ambadeva became the Kakatiya governors in the Ceded districts. Tripurantaka was a disciple of Aghōra Sivācharya and gave many gifts to the temples of Srisailam and Tripurantakam. His brother Ambadeva the most famous member of the Kayastha family was a great warrior and an able statesman. He was one of the mainstays of the Kakatiya empire in Rudramba's time. Local Records credit him with having instituted a system of land survey in the Ceded districts and formulated a definite code for taxation.

(2) The Recherla family—Dāmānāyadu, Prasādāditya Nayadu and Rudramanayadu, members of the second generation of this famous Padmanayaka family played a prominent part in Rudramba's time. Prasādāditya bears the title *Kakati-rājya-pratishṭhāpanā-charya*. Probably he took an active part in repelling the Yadavas.³⁷

(3) Gōṇa Gannā Reddī. He seems to have governed the western part of the Kakatiya empire from Vardhamānapura. From the Raichur inscription it is known that he conquered many fortresses like Adoni, Tumbuka etc. and defeated many enemies.³⁸

(4) Parvatanāyaka the A.D.C. of the queen.

(5) Adidamma. He had the title *Misra gauda* and is said to have slain Manmaganda Gopāla.³⁹

(6) Dādi Gannama Nayaka, Viceroy over Velnadu.

(7) Baddena. He was a feudatory chieftain ruling over a small principality south of the Krishna. He is the reputed author of the Telugu work *Nṛisāstramuktāvali*.

Chapter V. Pratapa Rudra 1290—1326 A.D.

Birth—Pratapa Rudra succeeded to the Kakatiya throne after Rudramba. No one has till now been able to determine the date of this

37. See the Padmanayaka Charitram and the 'Velugoti vāri vamsāvali.'

38. Lithic Records of Hyderabad State.

39. E. R. 130 of 1917. E. R. 170 of 1905

famous Andhra emperor's birth.⁴⁰ Traditional histories give varying and often mis-leading data in this connection. One of them, the *Ēkasila-nagara vṛttānta*⁴¹ mentions that Pratapa Rudra was five years old when Rudramba died in S. S. 1216.⁴² From this it appears as if the monarch was born in S. S. 1211 or 1289 A. D. In another place, the same work states that Pratapa Rudra was born on Thursday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra in the cyclic year Nandana corresponding to S. S. 1166. Another traditional work, the *Telugurājula Charitramu* says that the monarch was born on the same day and month in the cyclic year Ānanda, corresponding to S. S. 1160.⁴³ Thus tradition yields the dates S. S. 1211, 1166 and 1160. Taking each of these Saka and cyclic years separately and comparing them with the ephemeris, we get the following dates:⁴⁴—

- (1) The date in the year Ānanda = 25th March 1254 A. D.
- (2) The date in S. S. 1160 = 22nd March 1238 A. D.
- (3) The date in the year Nandana = 24th March 1292 A. D.
- (4) The date in S. S. 1166 = 15th March 1244 A. D.

The Malkapūr pillar inscription and the Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha are of invaluable help in solving the present problem. The inscription is dated 1261 A. D. While describing the Kakatiya genealogy it mentions that Rudramba had a son called Sri Rudra dēva.⁴⁵ According to Vidyānātha, Rudramba had no male issue and so at the express command of her father, she adopted her elder daughter's son.⁴⁶ In the year of the Malkapur inscription both Ganapati and Rudramba are mentioned together. Putting all these evidences together we might infer that by 1261 A. D. Rudramba was probably widowed and in order to guarantee the royal succession after her, Ganapati made her adopt her grandson Prataparudra. It is also plain that this adoption must have taken place some time before 1261 A. D. in order that Pratapa Rudra might figure as the son of Rudramba in the Malkapur inscription. With this conclusion in our minds, we should examine the four dates given above. The date 1292 A. D. obviously, is untenable. One point may be noted in this connection. If Rudramba's grandson was aged enough by 1261 A. D. Ganapati would certainly have placed him on the throne instead of installing his own daughter and thereby saved the troubles that follow in the wake of a woman's succession to a throne. We may therefore presume that Prataparudra was still a boy at the time of Ganapati's death. This rules out the dates 1238 and 1244 A. D. as untenable, for, in case they are taken up, Prataparudra would be twenty three and seventeen years old respectively by 1261 A. D. Then remains the year 1254 A. D. The adoption ceremony might have taken place in 1261 A. D. itself or a little earlier. We may therefore conclude that the Emperor Pratapa Rudra was born on Thursday the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra in the cyclic year Ānanda corresponding to 25th March 1254 A. D.

40. Mr. C. Virabhadra Rao just missed the clue in his "History of the Andhras" Vol II. p. 320—321.

41. 13-4-30 of the Mackenzie Mss. 42. Ibid.

43. Cf the Indian Ephemeris Vol. IV.

44. "lines 52-54" 35. Vide—Pratapa Rudriya.

VE(LE)MULAVADA INSCRIPTION OF ARIKESARIN II.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

This inscription was first noticed by Mr. Dupāṭi Vēnkaṭa Ramaṇacharya of the Kṛṣṇadēvaraya Public Library, Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1926, and, numbered in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological section of the Library as A.R. No. 11 of 1926-27. The inscription is found in a village called Vēmūlavada¹ (called Lembulavāḍa in the inscription) and is situated at a distance of about ten miles from Karimnagar. It can be reached from Pedapalli Railway Station on the Kāzīpet Balharishah section on the Nizām's State Railway. The village is said to be pretty large, surrounded by a group of ancient temples, built in later Chalukyan style of architecture. An interesting account of the place and its ancient structures both Hindu and Jaina, is given in the *Annual Report*. There are two temples, dedicated to Siva; one of the deities is called according to Mr. Acharya, Bhīmēśvara and the other Rājēśvara. The temple of Bhīmēśvara appears to have been originally known as Baddegeśvara, but the name has been changed into Bhīmēśvara in modern times, by the residents of the village, who wove round it a mythical tradition in order to identify it with Dakshavāṭika where Prajāpati Daksha performed a sacrifice (*yāga*), and then connected it with the famous Telugu poet Vemulavāḍa Bhīma Kavi. I think, it is with the object of connecting the village with Vemulavāḍa Bhīma Kavi, that the place name has been altered into Vēmūlavāḍa and Baddegeśvara into Bhīmēśvara. According to the Report, "There is a huge tank near the temple, which is popularly known as *Dakṣa-guṇḍam*, and, on its bund are to be found large Jaina sculptures. Inside the *prākāra* of temple of Rājēśvara there is a tomb of an unknown mohammedan saint, and a temple of Vishnu as well. Here it is said, is a curious custom of placing huge leathern sandals of the god Vishnu on the heads of the devotees instead of the usual *śaṭhagopam*."

To the left of the inner shrine in the temple of Bhīmēśvara, i.e. *sanctum sanctorum*, there are two stone pillars, dirty and greasy on account of the oil and dust that have accumulated there from ages through the carelessness of the unwitting pilgrims. These two pillars

• 1. The village is also called Lemūlavāḍa.

contain inscriptions : and on one of them is inscribed the sub-joined record on the four sides of it. The letters have become covered with grease and dirt since ages, and, it was with considerable difficulty that Mr. Ramanācharya could discover and take excellent estampages of the inscription thereon. The *Hyderabad Andhra Historical Society* has been very courteous to me to kindly lend me the impressions, with permission to read and publish them. I edit this inscription for the first time in English, though I published it some months ago in the Telugu Miscellany *Bhārati* of Madras. In this English version I have added more notes than in the Telugu. Though the impressions were given to me long ago, I could not publish the inscription till now as my hands were full of other matters.

The inscription runs 108 lines in all, on all the sides. It commences on the western face and concludes on the northern face of the pillar. It does not appear to have been engraved by a single person, and at one time, for the writing is not uniform. It might be that two persons engraved it simultaneously. The script employed is what is usually known as the Tel-Gaṇṇaḍa style, of the tenth century of the Christian era. Some of the letters are very beautiful, well shaped and in cursive form, while others which are apparently in another hand are slanting and not quite pretty. The letters are large, usually half-an-inch in size but sometimes one inch. The pillar on which the record is inscribed is nearly fifteen inches thick, and four feet in height. Fortunately, the writing throughout has been well preserved, and closely resembles the script employed in the Andhra country during the ninth and tenth centuries, in the reigns of Chālukya Bhīma I. (A. D. 888-917) Vishṇuvardhana-Ammaṛāja I. (918-925) and Yuddhamalla II. (927-934). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout, which is partly in prose and partly in verse. The poetry is not good, though the poet has used a variety of popular metres like *Upajāti*, *Indravajrā*, *Śārdūla-vikrīḍitā*, *Śragdhārā* and *Anuṣṭubh*. The language is faulty ; at the end there are a few Kannada titles. Instead of the usual Vyāsa *gītas*, at the end are found some extant verses of anonymous origin. As regards palaeography, it is interesting to note that vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, are found also in their initial form. The initial form of the short vowel *i* is written in both the earlier and later styles. The earlier form is seen in line 23 and the later one in line 43.

• The orthography also calls in for a few remarks. The consonants are invariably doubled after a *repha* with which they appear in conjunct form. Instead of *anusvāra* being used for the proper nasal as was usual in that period, the proper nasal corresponding to the class of the consonants is used. In one place the word "*din-maṇḍala*", is written as "*dig-maṇḍala*", the proper nasal form having been omitted.

Probably* on account of the Kannada origin of the scribe and the poet, the soft dental consonant *la* is always written as *l*. through this is not due to the ignorance of the proper form, for in several places the scribe writes the form *la*. Both the forms are thus to be seen simultaneously in line 9 where '*tilaka*' for '*tilaka*', is written, and in line 10, where the word Yuddhamalla is written with proper *la*. The *upadhāmāntya* is represented by a symbol for *ra*, but without the cross stroke in it. Neither the name of the poet nor that of the scribe of this record is mentioned at the end.

The record is not dated but it is possible otherwise to approximately fix the date. The inscription records the grant of a piece of land 100 *nivartanas* in extent on a particular winter solistice day. It belongs to the reign of the Chālukyan prince *Mahāmandalēśvara* and *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* Arikēsarimahārāja II., a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvindarāja IV. (A. D. 918-933). The record describes the ancestry of Arikēsarīn II., and traces the dynasty from a certain Yuddhamalla I., who is said to have ruled the seven and-a-quarter-lakh country in the Dekhan, and also known as Vinyāditya. It is stated* that he stormed the hill-fortress Chitrakūṭa in the Chēdi country², and was worshipped by a host of feudal chiefs. His son was Arikēsarīn I. who was a great warrior. At one time he conquered the whole of Vēṅgī dēśa(?) by the prowess of his own arms. His son was Narasimha I. who was also called *Rājāditya*; his son was Yuddhamalla II; and his son was Narasimha II., a great soldier. Narasimha II. conquered the invincible group or confederacy of Seven Chiefs, laid waste to their country by converting it into dense, impregnable dark forest. Alone, unaided he attacked the huge army of the king of the Ghurjaras and routed it. He freed the country from enemies. His son was Arikēsarīn II. who rose to fame and power like the morning sun. He protected a certain Bijja who sought his refuge, against the emperor Gōvindarāja whom he apparently offended, and when the Overlord marched against him (Arikesarin) in great wrath, the latter stood undaunted, met him alone on the battle-field, and not only completely defeated but killed him. Arikēsarīn's queen was Rēvakka, a priceless jewel among women, beautiful like the consort of Indra. She was like another goddess Earth to her lord Arikēsarīn II., became famous as the sole refuge of all those who sought his protection. His *sanādhivigrahin* (minister of war and peace) was the chief Gunakarasu, who was the veritable crest-jewel among the vassals of his lord. Arikēsarīn bore the titles *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* and *Tribhuvanamalla*. His *Sandhivigrahin* Gunakarasu gave a piece of land, 100 *nivartanas* in extent in

* 2. Probably Chakrakūṭa. See Mr. Hira Lal's remarks on the name in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 178-179.

Lembulavāda *paṭṭana* to the *sattrālaya* called *Āditya-griha* in that town, attached to the shrine of Śiva known as Baddegēśvara. The gift was made at the request of Feddana, son of the Tantrāpala Nāganārya, hereditary officer in charge of the *sattrālaya*, for the purpose of feeding daily the pilgrims that came to worship in the temple of Baddegēśvara in Lembulavāda, which is here referred to as the capital of the *sandhivigrahin* Gunaka. Along with this land, the minister also granted a piece of land, 8 *nivartanas* in extent, for the construction of a sweet water tank. Perhaps this is the tank which is to be seen in that village now, and which is called *Dakshagundam* at the present day. The witnesses for this grant and the local deities Baddegēśvara-Nagarēśvara and Vidvādhara-Mallikarjuna and some notables like Chandraśrēṣṭhi and other *śrēṣṭhins* of the city. The grant was made for the acquisition of *dharma* for the minister Gunaka.

The inscription is non-sectarian. It is however very important, in as much as it throws considerable light on the history of a powerful feudatory Chālukyan family, the identity of which has baffled scholars like the late Dr. Fleet³ and Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma for many years. Dr. Fleet refers to this dynasty of Arikēśarin II. in his "*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*", at page 381. This dynasty was first brought to light by the discovery of the famous Kannaḍa *kāvya* known as *Vikramārjunavijaya* otherwise called *Pāmpa-Bhārata* of the famous poet Pāmpa of Vēngi, who was born in S. 824 A.D. 902-3. The poet mentions as his patron, in A. D. 941-2 a Chālukyan prince named Arikēśarin II. After briefly narrating the descent of the prince according to Pāmpa, Dr. Fleet discussed the statements in order to identify the names mentioned therein but in the end unable to come to any conclusion, abandoned the hope of identification with the remark, that "while Pāmpa's statements may be accepted in respect of names and lineage, we are unable to fit this line of princes into either the Western Chālukyan⁴ or the Eastern Chālukyan genealogy." Lewis Rice⁵ on the other hand, altogether discountenanced the genealogy given by Pāmpa as very suspicious!; but like Dr. Fleet felt convinced that much real history lies imbedded in the *prasaastis* of the famous poet.

Recently my friend Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma published a copper-plate grant of a certain Arikēśarin⁵ of Chālukyan lineage, and, in the course of an attempt to identify and fit this prince in the known pedigrees of the Chālukyan families, expressed the same difficulty to fit the pedigree given in the grant with that of the two well-known branches of

3. *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts* p. 380-381.

4. *Jour. R. A. S. Soc. N.S. Vol. XIV* p. 19.

5. *Bharati* Vol. VII, Part 2. Pramoduta: Brāvana.

the Chālukyas, the Western and the Eastern. He felt, however, a hope that if the record of Arikēsarīn II. brought to light recently by the *Hyderabad Andhra Historical Society* (meaning the present record) was published, some clue might be forthcoming as to the relationship between Arikēsarīn (I.) of the Kollepara grant which he published and Arikēsarīn II. of the *Pāṃpa-Bhāratam* on the one hand, and Arikēsarīn of the record under review. Mr. Śarma attempt to discover connection between Ādityavarman, an ancestor of Arikēsarīn of the Kollepara copper-plate grant and Ādityavarman of the Karnool Copper-plate grant, who is called "the dear son of Satyāśraya." (Pulikēś n II) ⁶ And making up his mind in favour of the identity of one Ādityavarman with the other, Mr. Śarma concluded that the Arikesarin of the Kollepara grant belonged to the Western Chālukyan branch. He then proceeds to fix the age of Arikēsarīn of the Kollepara record and assigns him to the 8th century A.D.

We shall proceed now to examine the various genealogies we have obtained till now. Let us place the pedigree given in the record under review alongside the one furnished by the Kollepara grant in the first place and examine if there is any relationship between the two branches, and then attempt to reconstruct a proper and probable line of descent from any common ancestor. The present record gives the following descent.

Chālukya-kula.

- (1) Vinavāditya *alias* Yuddhamalla I
- |
- (2) Arikesarin I.
- |
- (3) Narasimha I. *alias* Rājāditya.
- *
- (4) Yuddhamalla II
- *
- (5) Narasimhadēva II.
- *
- (6) Arikesarin II.

This record states that from Vinavāditya *alias* Yuddhamalla I. sprang Arikēsarīn I., and that the son of the latter was Narasimha I. *alias* Rājāditya. Then came Yuddhamalla II. The relationship between Narasimha I. and Yuddhamalla II. and the connection between Yuddhamalla II and Narasimha II., and lastly between Narasimha II. and Arikēsarīn II. is not clear from this record. It is simply stated that the last three named princes were born one after another after Yuddhamalla II. It might be that the poet by oversight omitted the actual relationship; or it might be that in as much as the donor of the grant was *Sanḍhivigrahin* of the Chālukyan chief, the composer of the grant did not take particular care to describe accurately and in detail the relationship between one prince

and his successor. The composer of the record is also ignorant of some of the historical events, connected with the ancestors of Arikēsarīn II. as we shall presently see.

But let us examine if we can find anything common between the geneology given by Paṭṭha in his *Vikramārjunavijayam* and the pedigree recorded in our present inscription. Paṭṭha had apparently greater access to the archives of patron's government, and therefore, may be assumed to have recorded accurate information about Arikesarin II's. ancestors. He describes the family as follows. "The first prince of this family was Yuddhamalla I. of the Chālukya race who ruled over the *sapāḍalaksha* (lakh and-a-quarter country: (2) his son Arikēsarīn I. who with the ministers of Bangarishaya (?) penetrated into the kingdom of a certain Nirupama; (3) his son Narasimha-Bhadrādēva; (4) his son Dugdhamalla; (5) his son Baddiga who acquired the title *Soladaganda*, the undefeated hero, and as if seizing a crocodile, entered into the water and proudly seized Bhima; (6) his son was Yuddhamalla II.; (7) his son Narasimhadēva, whose preceptor was *Muni* Subhadra, who gave a province to Eṣapa, subdued the Seven Chiefs of Mālāla (Mālaya or Māḍeya), plucked the goddess of victory from the arms of the Ghūrjara-*raja*, defeated a king named Mahīpāla, and bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges; and (8) the poet's patron Arikēsarīn II., the son of Yuddhamalla II. and his wife Chandrānanā, his territory was called 'Jōla country', i.e., the land of the great millet. Arikēsarīn is described as having protected a certain Vijayāditya who took refuge with him against a king named Gojjigadēva." (*Fleet.*)

We shall now place these two geneologies side by side for the purpose of comparison.

According to Paṭṭha.

Chālukya kula.

Yuddhamalla I.

Arikēsarīn I.

Narasimha-bhadrādēva

Dugdhamalla

Soladaganda-Baddega.

Yuddhamalla II.

Narasimha II.
(m Jākkavva)

According to the subjoined record.

Chālukya kula.

Yuddhamalla I. *alias* Vinayāḍitya.

Arikēsarīn I.

Narasimha I.

*

Yuddhamalla II.

*

Narasimha II.

* &

By *Chandrānanā*
Arikēsarīn II.

Arikēsarīn II.

Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma, also discusses in his editorial notes the geneology as given by Paṁpa but gives it with some variations. Either Dr. Fleet or Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma must have made a mistake in understanding the statements of Paṁpa, Mr. Śarma gives two sons to Arikēsarīn I., Narasimha I. and Bhadrādēva, while Dr. Fleet read the whole as one name Narasimha-bhadra. But this is not of much importance to us. Mr. Śarma has changed the name of Yuddhamalla (II.) son of *Solada gaṇḍa* Baddega into Dugdhamalla. Lastly he makes Arikēsarīn II. the son of his own elder brother Narasimha II. and his queen Jakavva, while Dr. Fleet mentions him as the son of Yuddhamalla II. and his queen Chandrānā. There is, in my opinion, good reason to assume that Dr. Fleet who is a greater scholar of the Kanarese than Mr. Śarma correctly rendered the statements of Paṁpakavi. Leaving aside the consideration for a moment of these slight errors let us examine if there is any identity of names in the geneologies given by Paṁpa and our present record. A glance at the two pedigrees is sufficient to enable even a casual reader to see that Arikēsarīn II., the patron of Paṁpa and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, Arikēsarīn II. of the sub-joined record are identical. Both these princes are described as having protected a certain Bijja or Vijayāditya (Bijja is the Kanarese equivalent of Sanskrit form of Vijayāditya) against the wrath of king Gojjiga or Gōvinda (Gōvinda is the Sanskrit form of the Kanarese name Gojjiga or Gujjiga). There is absolutely no doubt, therefore, that the king Gojjiga mentioned by Paṁpa, and Gōvinda referred to in our inscription are identical: and that he was Gōvinda IV, the Rāshṭrakuṭa king of Malkhed. Dr. Fleet,⁷ too, assumes that Gojjiga or Gujjiga is identical with the "Rāshṭrakuṭa king *Suvarnavarsha* Govindaraja IV. who was reigning in A. D. 930 and 933, and whose name actually appears as Gōjjigadeva." Gōvindaraja IV. was on the throne according to his inscriptions from A. D. 918 to 933, the last known date of his reign. Since we know that Paṁpa also gives the date of his work which corresponds to A. D. 942-3 which falls in the reign of the successor of Govinda IV., Arikēsarīn II. may be taken without any hesitation to be a contemporary of Gōvinda IV.

Bijja or Vijayāditya, according to Fleet,⁸ is "doubtless the Eastern Chālukyan king *Kollabhiḡaṇḍa*-Vijayāditya IV., for whom we have the date A.D. 918." It seems to me that Dr. Fleet's identification is utterly untenable. Vijayāditya IV. is said to have reigned only for six months, according to the Eastern Chalukyan Chronology, conquered the enemies after his father's death and planted a pillar of victory on the

7. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 321.

8. *Ibid*

battle-field of Virajāpuri.⁹ He invaded the territories of the Rāshtrakuta king Indra III. in or about A.D. 917-18, and in the same year (918); both the Eastern Chalukyan monarch and the Rāshtrakuta king lost their lives on the battle-field, though the victory was with the Eastern Chālukyas. Indra III. was succeeded by his younger son Govinda IV. on the throne of Mānykhēta, and in Vēṅgi Vijayaditya IV. was succeeded by his eldest son Vishṇuvardhana-Ammarāja I., about the same time. Govinda IV. does not claim to have waged any war against Vijayāditya IV. of Vēṅgi; nor did his successors claim any war or victory for him against *Kollabhigaṇḍi*. It is, therefore, evident that *Kollabhigaṇḍi*-Vijayaditya IV. of Vēṅgi was not a contemporary of Govinda IV. but that of his father, and though the Rāshtrakuta king lost his life on the field, the hostilities between the two powers did not cease after that, but continued even in the reign of Govinda IV. Then, the question remains unanswered: Who is this Bijja or Vijayaditya who sought refuge with the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Arikesarin II., having roused the wrath of the emperor Gojjiga? Vishṇuvardhana-Ammarāja I. had a son named Beta-Vijayāditya who was driven away from the country by his cousin Paṭaraja shortly after he was crowned king of Vēṅgi (925 A.D.) The Eastern Chalukyan records do not call him Bijja, but call him Bēta-Vijayāditya. And he does not appear to have offended Gojjiga. Nor was he his vassal as Bijja appears to be. Our present inscription and Paṇḍpa do not state that Bijja was an Eastern Chalukyan prince. In fact we have no details about him. If Bijja were to be a prince of Vēṅgi, then Arikēsarin II. would certainly be proud to mention that fact for it would enhance his power and prestige. More than this, it appears that Arikēsarin II. defeated and slew the emperor Gojjigadeva on the battle-field when he came with a large army against him to punish Bijja, and when he refused to abandon the cause of his refugee. Gojjigadeva did not therefore, die in A.D. 918, it was the year in which he came to the throne. His inscriptions gives us 29th December A.D. 933¹⁰ as the last known date of his reign. And it is therefore certain that he must have died either in A.D. 933 or at the latest in 934. For this reason also Vijayaditya mentioned in Paṇḍpa's *Vikramārjunaviṇaya* and Bijja of our inscription could not be identical with the Eastern Chalukyan king *Kollabhigaṇḍi* Vijayāditya IV. Doubtless there were wars in the reign of Govinda IV. II between the Rāshtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgi. But, the declining Rāshtrakutas could not check the progress and power of Eastern Chalukyan king Vishṇuvardhana-Ammarāja I. and of his successors, for Govinda IV. was occupied with the internal

9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII p. 212. lines 19-23.

10. Kālāṭpur inscription dated in Vijaya samvatsara 8.855 expired: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 417.

11. *Edōru Plates of Ammarāja I. Ind. Ant.* XX p. 216.

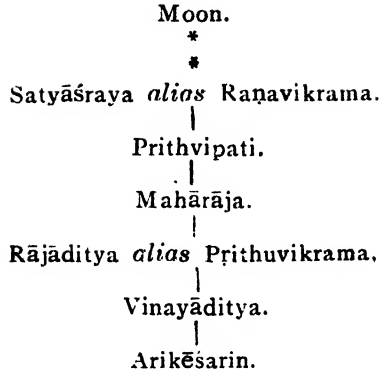
affairs of his kingdom and the rise of a new power in the north, the Pratihāras of Kanauj. The Eḍeru plates of Vishṇuvardana-Ammarāja I. (A.D. 918-925) tell us that the king Ammarāja I, had to use his sword against some of his feudatory relatives, who had joined the party of his natural adversaries, and won over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and grandfather, the meaning of which being that some of the members of his family had entered into a conspiracy with the Rāshṭra-kūṭas to prevent his accession to the throne of Vēṅgī. But this is only a suggestion which cannot be accepted as enabling us to assume that Vijayāditya was the Chālukyan prince of Vēṅgī. And further, another later record¹² tells us that Chālukya Bhima II. (A. D 934-945) another son of Vijāyadita IV. destroyed a great army that was sent against him by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV.

Undoubtedly, Narasiṃha II. of the subjoined record is the same as Narasiṃha II., the elder brother of Arikēsarīn II. This prince is said to have routed the armies of the Ghūrjara king of Kanauj, and reduced the invincible seven chieftains or kings of the Maḷaḷa to subjection. These seven chieftains of Maḷaḷa remind us of the seven Māḍems (*Sapta-Mādemulu*)¹³ which Vēma Redḍi of Rājamahēndravaram conquered (A.D. 1425 *circa*). These seven *Māḍems* (or *Sapta-Mādemulu*) might be the hilly country of the modern territories of Jeypore in the Madras Presidency and Bastar, and the hilly tracts of Gondwana in the Central Provinces. Narasiṃha II. was the son of Yuddhamalla II. and grandson of *Soladaganda*-Baddega. Baddega's father was Dugdhamalla. Our record somehow omits these two princes Baddega and his father Dugdhamalla. As we have already observed, this omission might be due to carelessness; or it might be these princes did not succeed to the throne of their ancestors and died prematurely young. For, the first three generations above Dugdhamalla, as given in our record, agree with the descent given by poet Paṃpa. For these reasons, therefore, we can assume that the pedigree according to our record and that given by Paṃpa are the same and belong to one and the same family, and the Arikēsarīn II. of our record is identical with Paṃpa's patron.

Let us now see if the geneology supplied by the Kollepara Copper-plate grant of Arikēsarīn, published by Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma and which is given below, finds any connection with the one furnished by our record.

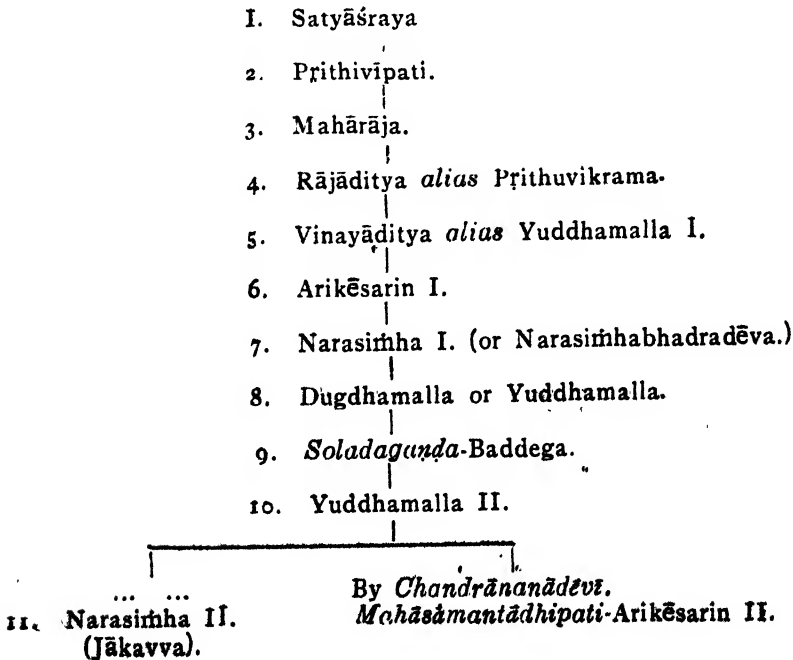
12. Kaluchumbarru Grant of Amma II. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 177 ff. .

13. "Sapta-māḍeyarāya Chandra-binḍānana chikura-vallarula-pai chinni-puvvu" Srinathas Kasikhandam.



The last mentioned prince Arikēśarin is the son of Vinayāditya. Our record tells us that the ancestor of Arikēśarin II. was Yuddhamalla I. who had a second name Vinayaditya, and that his son was Arikēśarin I. The first two generations in the pedigree according to our record, thus agree with the last two generations of the geneology of the Kollepara grant given above. We shall therefore assume that the pedigree of Arikēśarin II. of our record begins with Yuddhamalla *alias* Vinayāditya, father of Arikēśarin I of the Kollepara grant. Placing these two pedigrees one above the other we obtain the following connected geneology of the family.

Chālukyānvaya



It now becomes easy to determine the age of Arikēsarīn I., for we already know the date of Arikēsarīn II. Accepting an average of twenty-five years for each generation we have to go back six generations for Arikēsarīn II., and then to deduct one hundred and fifty years from the first quarter of the tenth century A. D., to get roughly 750-780 *circa* as the date of Arikēsarīn I. Thus Arikēsarīn I. appears to be a contemporary of the Eastern Chālukyan king Vishṇuvardhana IV. of Vēṅgi. (A. D. 764-799), Paṁpa tells us that Arikēsarīn I. invaded the territories of a certain king named Nirupama, along with the commanders of the king of Bangeri-vishaya, while the subjoined record tells us that he captured the whole country Bangerishaya which according to Dr. Fleet might be Vēṅgī-vishaya. As Dr. Fleet supposes, Bangerishaya might be a mis-spelt name for Vēṅgi for king Nirupama appears to be Nirupama-Dhruvaraja, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mānyakheta, and a hereditary foe of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. Nirupama-Dhruvaraja's titles are Dhāravarsha, Kalivallabha; he was the younger son of Krishna-vallabha I, Dhruvarāja was the first prince among the Rāshtrakūṭas to bear the surname *Nirupama* "the unequalled". It is not known when this prince came to the throne, with any amount of certainty; but it appears from the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed that he was on the throne between A. D. 775 and 784-5.¹⁴ Nirupama-Dhruvarāja dethroned his elder brother Gōvinda II., as the latter became careless of the kingdom, having fallen into sensual pleasures, and thus secured the succession for himself.¹⁵ This supersession must have taken place, therefore, sometime after A.D. 769. It is said that at that juncture Gōvinda II. made a desperate attempt to regain his lost throne, according to a statement in the Paithan Grant of Gōvinda III.,¹⁶ by calling to his assistance even the hostile kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Vēṅgī, and of the Ganga country. In this struggle, victory was with Nirupama at last. Vishṇuvardhana IV. of Vēṅgi appears to have helped his erstwhile enemy Gōvinda's II. against his brother Nirupama-Dhruvaraja and further it is probable that in this campaign Arikēsarīn I. joined the commanders of Vēṅgi against Nirupama-Dhruvaraja. It is, therefore, probable that Arikēsarīn I. lived between A.D. 765 and 790, the invasion into the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom having taken place about A. D. 774-75. Mr. Sōmaśekhara Śarma fixes the date of Arikēsarīn I. between A. D. 715 and 720, which is too narrow a limit for a normal reign, on the assumption that he was the descendant of Ādityavarman of the Kurnool Copper-plate grant.¹⁷

14. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 62 at 69. 15. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 103.

16. *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XVI p. 223-233.

17. I have fixed A. D. 775 as the earliest date for Dhruvaraja because we have got a grant of Yuvaraja Govinda II elder brother, of Nirupama dated in A.D. 769, issued from the victorious camp on the bank of the river Musi at its

which is not unfortunately dated. That grant appears to have been issued, however, in the first year of the king Ādityavarman who is described as the dear and favourite son of Satyasraya, i.e., Pulikesin II. This charter may, therefore, be placed after the period of disaster which followed the reign of Pulikesin II. (A. D. 645) and in all probability after Ādityavarman had attempted and failed to wrest the succession to the throne of Bādami for himself from his younger brother Vikramāditya I. (A. D. 655-680), and then sank into the position of a feudal chieftain. But the question is, with whom in the pedigree given in the Kollepara Copper-plate grant of Arikēsarīn I. that we shall identify Ādityavarman of the Karnool grant? If we assume that Arikēsarīn I. lived about A. D. 760-790, his ancestor Satyāśraya who lived about five generations back may be taken to have flourished roughly $5 \times 25 = 125$ years before him. Thus we get the date of Satyāśraya roughly about 645-650 A. D. and this is the period exactly, when the great empire of Satyāśraya-Pulikesin II. met with a serious disaster at the hands of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I. the Great of Kanchi, (A. D. 630-668). The Kollepara grant states that Prithivīpati was the son of Satyāśraya, but we have no prince of that name in the pedigree given in the records of the Western Chālukyas of Bādami. We learn, however, from the Karnool grant that Ādityavarman, son of Satyāśraya, bore the epithet Prithivīvallabha, which might be taken as a variant of Prithivīpati for both practically convey the same meaning. Thus if we place Ādityavarman-Prithivīpati roughly in the third quarter of the seventh century, the age of Arikēsarīn I. may be accepted as the last quarter of the eighth century. Even apart from this, on palaeographical grounds also the date of Kollepara grant of Arikēsarīn I. may be assigned to the middle or the last quarter of the eighth century A. D.

It is now clear that we cannot any longer confuse the great family of Arikēsarīn II. with either the Western Chālukyan or the Eastern Chālukyan families. The ancestors of Arikēsarīn II. belong to an independent branch of the Chālukyas, who traced their descent very much like their cousins on the east, from Bādami and the Satyāśraya-Pulikēsin II. the Great. While the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi became a powerful and independent ruling family in the east, their cousins, the descendants of Ādityavarman, remained an obscure and feudatory family till the days of Narasiṃha II., owing allegiance at one time to Bādāmi, then Vēṅgi and lastly to Mānyakhēṭa.

confluence with the Krishna. (*Alas plates of Govinda II. Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 208 ff), and A. D. 784-5 as the last date for a passage in the *Harivamsa* of Jināsena mentions Srivallabha Govinda III., son and successor of Nirupama as reigning over the south (Dekhan) in *Saka Samvat* 705 (*expired*) (A. D. 784) See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* pp. 394-395,

It is interesting to note that poet Paṁpa mentions some historical facts about the ancestors of his patron, namely *Soladaganda*-Baddega and Narasiṁha II., which require to be carefully examined. Baddega, "the undefeated hero" as his Kanarese title indicates is described "as if seizing a crocodile, entered into water, and proudly seized Bhīma". Bhīma mentioned here appears to be the Eastern Chālukya Bhīma I. (A. D. 888-917). There was war between Chālukya Bhīma I. and the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II. in the first four years of the former's reign A.D. 888-892, 18 in which the Rāshtrakūṭa commanders had inflicted heavy reverses on the Chālukyas, which probabilise the claim of Baddega whose ancestors by that time had become vassals of the Rāshtrakūṭas. A certain feudatory chief Baddega appears as an enemy of Guṇaga-Vijayādityā III (844-888 A. D.) according to a passage in the Pabhubaṅṅu Grant 19 of Śaktivarman I. of Vēṅgi, whom Vijayādityā III. is said to have defeated and humbled. This event took place probably during Guṇaga Vijayaditya's invasion of Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. Narasiṁhadeva II. is the commander-in-chief of the short-lived and yet powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king *Nityavarsha* Indrarāja III. (A. D. 912-918) who fell on the battle-field of Virajāpurī. Paṁpa states that Narasiṁha II. defeated and drove away Mahīpāla, the Ghūrjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj, which is also confirmed by another authority. This prince Mahīpāla I. succeeded to the throne of the Ghūrjara-Pratihāra empire by removing his elder brother Bhōja II. with the help of the Chandella chief, Harsha. And very shortly after this event the Ghūrjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered to pieces by the fierce onslaught of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor *Nityavarsha* Indra III. in or about A. D. 913-14. In fact it was this Rāshtrakūṭa prince that gave the death-blow to the Ghūrjara-Pratihāra supremacy in Northern India. Indra III. invaded Mālava, captured Ujjaini, crossed the Jumna near Kalpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla I. to flee before his general the Chālukya chief Narasiṁha II. to Allahabad. It is here at the confluence of the Ganga, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, according to Paṁpa that Narasiṁhadēva II. "bathed his horses in the Ganges" in the traditional manner, celebrating his glorious victory over Mahīpāla I. It appears that it was Narsimha II that led the whole campaign on behalf of his sovereign Indra III., defeated the Ghūrjara king alone and unaided according to our inscription, and "plucked the goddess of victory from the arms of Ghūrjararāja."

There remains now one more important question to be answered. "Where did Arikēsarin II and his predecessors rule, and where was their capital? There is no evidence forthcoming for us to answer the question easily, from the records that have come to light so far. Paṁpa tells us

however that the country over which Arikēśarin II. ruled was called the "*Jōlavādi*" or the "country of the great millet". Dr. Fleet lost sight of this fact quite accidentally and therefore began to make several conjectures about the country of Arikēśarin and its capital. Writes Dr. Fleet,²⁰ "As Paṁpa specifically states that he wrote in pithy Kanarese of Puligere which is Lakshmnēśvar, the village of Dharmaura granted as an *agrahāra* to Paṁpa by Arikēśarin II. may be identified with the neighbouring Dambal in the Dharwar District, the name of which appears in an inscription of A.D. 1095-96 as Dharmapura and Dharmavolal, and this, though the name of the *Bacche Thousand* is not otherwise known, locates the authority of Arikēśarin II." Dr. Fleet had apparently misunderstood that the capital of Arikēśarin II. was Lakshmaṇēśvar because Paṁpa claimed to have written in "pithy Kanarese of Puligere". Unfortunately nothing is more misleading than this. Paṁpa nowhere in his poems refers to Lakshmaṇēśvar as the capital of his patron, but only incidentally tells us in a proud tone that he wrote in charming Puligere dialect. From this alone it is not possible to assume that Lakshmaṇēśvar was the capital of Arikēśarin II. and the territory round it was his realm. Dr. Fleet's suggestion falls to the ground for another reason also, for there is evidence to show that Lakshmaṇēśvar was the capital of another feudatory chief, a contemporary of Arikēśarin II's elder brother Narasiṁha II. The Hatti-Mattūr stone record of date S S. 838 (corresponding to A.D. 916-7) cyclic year Dhātu, mentions that a certain *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Leṇḍeyarasu was governing the Puligere, three hundred district.²¹ But Mr. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma believes that the country over which Arikēśarin II and his ancestor held sway lay in the Nizam's Dominions. This view seems to be probable. The *Jōlavādi* vishaya or the country of the great millet refers to the south-western portion of what is known as Telingāna or the Western Andhradēśa. The Karnool grant of Ādityavarman and the Kollepara grant of Arikēśarin II. have come from the northern tracts of Kurnool district and refer to the villages lying on the southern borders of the Nizam's Dominions in the Nalgonda district. And directly towards the north roughly 300 miles away lies the village of Lembulavādapattana or Lēmulavāḍa, in the Karimnagar district, the place where the sub-joined inscription is found. This strip of the country stretching northwards from the Tungabhadra and comprising the modern districts of Nalgonda, and Mahaboobnagar in the Nizam's Dominions known as *Jōlavādi* ²² over which Arikēśarin II. and his ancestors ruled as *Mahāsāmantādhipatis* or great feudal chiefs. Though it

20. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 381-2.

21. *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII p. 224.

22. There is a reference to *Jōlavādi* in Palakurki Somanatha Kavi's *Pandita radhya charitramu*, where a servant of Chododaya, alias Udayachoda, Lord of

- 23 न्राजादित्य इति क्षमापतिरतो श्रीयुद्ध म
 24 ह्योनृपः । त्यक्तायेन दरिविवर्ण¹³ विभव्याह्यः क्षिति
 25 भूभुजः प[द्माद्देश रक्षिदाशर¹⁴] पर श्रीयुद्ध
 26 मल्लीश्वरः॥ (६*) तत¹⁵ स्सराजन्य शिरोमणीना म्पादा (२^x)
 27 विन्देन हृदोहरयः [1*] बभूवनान्ना नरसिंह देव
 28 धात्र्या मभू रि धृताधिपाद्यः¹⁶ ॥ [७*] य¹⁷स्सप्रदुरसाधतर नृ

Southern Face.

- 29 पाणा निर्जित्य सद्यस्समरांग
 30 णेषु विन्यम्य के हस्त मतोनतानां
 31 तान्मूळ [ल] वन्यः करटी चकार ॥ [८*] प्रत्यु¹⁸द्रतां
 32 गू [घू] नरराजसेनां निर्जित्य राजा स्वयमेक
 33 वर¹⁹ काळप्रियराजकद [२*] बकस्यस्त²⁰ भास्वशौ
 34 र्यविलिलेखशैले [ले] ॥ [९*] तस्यो²¹दपादि बलव
 35 त्परचक्र कुंभिकुंभस्थळो [लो] द्धळन दक्षकृपा
 36 णपाणिः [1*] भीतानतारि नरपाळ [ल] किरी
 37 टकोटिसंघट्टिताग्नि सरसीजविराजिता
 38 ननः ॥ [१०*] श्रीमा²²न्महीपति स्साक्षा नाम्नावीरो²
 39 रिकेसरी । प्रादुर्बभूव तेजस्वी प्रात
 40 र्भानु रिबोदयां ॥ [११*] समस्त²³ सामन्तशिखा
 1 मणीनां प्रभां प्रपातायित शार्ङ्गरां स्व
 42 संचारनारी नयनाम्बुजानां लक्ष्मीं हि
 43 मासार इवा हरयः ॥ [१२*] ²⁴ सामन्तो न्दण्डमु
 44 ख्यान्निजभुजपरिधाः प्रस्फुरद्बलधाराः
 45 नीरांभोरासिमग्रां स्तु(तु)रग करि घटापत्तिसं

'bhuyāsmi' 13. Read 'Vivarna'. 14. Text in the brackets
 15. Metre: Upajāti. 16. Read dhrst = ādlupatyah. 17.
 Indravajrā. 18. Metre: Upajāti. 19 'Vīrah'. 20. Read 'Ka
 kasyūstu. 21. Metre: Upajāti. 22. Metre: Anushtubh. 23.
 Upajāti. 24. Metre: Sragdharā.

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- 46 पात्तियुक्तान् कृत्यापद्धार्यमार्यः स्वजनपरि
 47 जनै [*] सन्निहन्त्याजिरंगे कृद्धे गोविन्द राज्यहरण
 48 मुपगतो रक्षितोयेनविजः ॥ [१३*] देवी²⁵ रेवकनिर्म
 49 डि[क्षितिपतेरिन्द्रस्यपुत्री न्मुतां पौलोमीमिव
 50 वासवप्रियमिव श्रीमन्मुरध्वंसकः खीरत्रं
 51 परिणीय येन निरतं तस्यास्सपत्नीकृता नू
 52 नां सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितु महीमनोन्नते नाधु
 53 ना ॥ [१४*] तेनभीतानताखिळ [ळ] वळ [ळ] वदिळा [ळा] पाळ [ळ] मौ
 54 ळि माणिक्यरस्मिमाळा [ळा] लाळि [लि] त चरणकम
 55 ळ [ळ] युगळेन शरणायात क्षितिपाळ [ळ] प्राणि

Eastern Face

- 56 रक्षण दक्षकश्रिया कोपलतीक्ष्ण्य दक्षिण
 57 भुजागर्गळेन कान्त्या कान्तकान्ताजन मनोनय
 58 [न*] वल्लभेन करेणुपुत्राहव स्सकळ [ळ] गजवि
 59 का रेवटेन (गेतमुने वकीन्त तरळाव)²⁶
 60 दविध्र रुद्रळेन राजात्मजेनेव परि [र*] क्ष
 61 विधान दक्षिणबाहु [ब*] ळे [ले] न च बन्धुरक्षणे [न*]
 62 सनृपः । बन्धुपरायणेन ईश्वरेण च
 63 विजितमनो [भ*] वेनोमाप्रियेण च
 64 नारायणेन च गोवर्धनागधरेण च
 65 चतुराननेन च चतुराननेन च•सक
 66 ळ [ळ] कळानिळ [ळ] येन तरळाधिर [क*] मधु
 67 मुदागन्धकरेण कान्तिमताच वनजे [न*]
 68 बन्धनेव प्रबोधित बशुर बशु व
 69 दनवनजेन निरस्तारति तिमिरेण
 70 च सहस्र किरणेव दतुळ [ळ] तेजसा

25. Metre: *Sārdulavikrīṭitā*. • 26. The portion in the brackets as well as the prose text that follows is not clear.

- 71 श्री म द रि के स रि म हारा जेन ॥
 72 स्वास्ति [1*] समधिगत पञ्चमहाशब्द महा
 73 सामन्ताधिपति समस्तभुवन संस्तूयमा
 74 न चालुक्यवंशोद्भवं पाम्बरांकुशनम्भन ग
 75 न्धवारणं गन्धेभ विद्याधर नारूढसर्व्वज्ञ
 76 हुद्रात्तनाराणं²⁷ गेन्दुत्तिगेल्दों गुणं निधि (गुणानिधि?) गुणा
 77 र्णवं शरणागतव अंपंजरं प्रियगल्लं
 78 त्रि भु व न म ह सामन्तचूडामाणि श्री
 79 म द रि के स रि य र सर तत्पादपद्मोप
 80 जीवि समस्तराज्वभार निरूपित महा
 81 सन्धिविग्रह पदवीप्रतिष्ठितं समस्त
 82 शास्त्रपारगं श्रीमत्सन्धिविग्रहि गु ण क [र]
 83 शेन ॥ तत्पादाम्भोज.....य प
 84 ... त ... वि ...

Northern Face.

- 85 ²⁸श्रीमान्मुधि [धी]र्व्वहेगभूमि मर्त्तुस्स
 86 त्राधिपालोजनि नागमार्य्यः । गुणार्ण
 87 वोर्व्वोपति तन्त्रपाळ [ल] स्तस्यत्सजो जाय
 88 ते पेद्दणार्य्यः ॥ [१५*] तेनाभ्यर्थितो देवतां वन्द
 89 न निमित्तमागत म्वनिर्म्मापितादित्यगृह
 90 मागताभ्यागतजन सत्र निमित्तु मुत्तरा
 91 यण पुण्यसंक्रातिदिवसे शतनिवर्त्तन सं
 92 ख्यात भूमिक्षेत्र मष्टनिवर्त्तन संख्यात
 93 दानीय²⁹ भूमिक्षेत्रं च लेम्बुळ वा ट
 94 क प त्त ने³⁰लानकेन(?)³¹ श्रीमदरि केसरिक्षिति
 95 पति रदात् ॥ तत्र राजेश्वरादित्यगृह बहे

27. Read 'Nārāyaṇa. 28. Metre: *Upajāti*. 29. Read *pāṇīya*.
 Read *paṭṭaṇṇa*. 31. The word *lāṇakena* is not clear.

1	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	85
2	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	86
3	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	87
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18	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	102
19	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	103
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23	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	107
24	అయ్యల కృష్ణమూర్తి నామము	108

96. गीश्वर नगरेश्वरप्रभृति चतुस्थानादि^१ वा
 97 सं^{३२}स्साक्षि मल्लिकार्जनव्यक्तलिङ्गि विद्या [ध^{*}] राधि [दि^{३४}]
 98 व्याख्यनि भट्टारकाश्च साक्षिणः ॥ चन्द्रश्रेष्ठिप्रभृ
 99 तयो न च श्रेष्ठिनश्च साक्षिणः
 100 निस्पृहैकाग्रणी स्मुरिस्थानादिष्ठो यशा स्वयं
 101 धातावियान्वयेजातः पण्डितमुनीश्वरः ॥ [१६*]
 102 स्वधर्मवदयं धर्मः पाळ [ल] नीयो धराधिपै [ः^{*}] ।
 103 स्वधर्म्या^{३३} स्थितेस्मन्तः प्रभु^{३४} दन्त कदाचन ॥ [१७]
 104 कालक्षेपोनकर्त्तव्यं आयुक्षणि दिनेदिने
 105 समस्तरुणान्नास्ति धम्मर त्वरितागते ॥ [१८]
 106 अनित्यानि शरीराणि विभवोनश्व^{३५} शाश्वतः ।
 107 नित्यसन्निहितो मृत्युकर्त्तव्यो धम्मसंग्रह^{३६} [१९*]
 108 अस्य क्षेत्रस्य द्वादश द्रम्म^{३६} सिद्ध्यः ॥

TEXT. 1

First plate, Second side.

- 1 ओं ॥ जयत्यमलजाह्नवी जलतरंगसंघात भुज्जटामकुट
 2 विस्फुरत्तरुणचन्द्रचूडामणिः ... यपुषा . जेन वपु (?) प—
 3 वपु र्मनोहरतर : ॥ [१]
 4 व्याभुग्वप्रो.....श्री...प्र...श । घोणा
 5 घाताभिघातप.....लशैलप्रत (?) ध्वान ... दै
 6 त्यप्रमुदितविदि . विक्रमाक्रान्तना . पायादा.....कुवलय
 7 व्यापिनश्चक्रपाणिः ॥ [२] न्द्रशिखरशिलाघृष्टिदो

Second plate, First side.

- 8 वोजितारै । प्रोद्धिन्द^{३३}न्नाभिपज्ञाश्रित कमलमुव श्रकिगः क्रोडरूपम् ।
 9 भूत भूयैभुवो यद्गुब सकलधरामण्डलं तत्प्रसाद । प्रादुर्भूतो धरा र

32. May be read as *sus-sakshināh*. 33. Read *dhurmāya*. 34. Read
pratyudanta. 35. Read *na-iva*. 36. Read *dharmā*.

- 10 क्षणपटु रमल श्रारु चा लु क्य वं शः ॥ [३] तस्मिन्वंशे कलाभृ कलक
11 लिजनिर् ध्वान्तभि त्सौम्यवृत्तिः । क्षीरोदन्व त्युदंशु इशशधर इव यः प्रा
12 दुरासी न्महात्मा । उत्खातास प्रतापावनमित रिपुभूभृत्कुलो भूतधात्र्या
13 भर्त्ता स त्या श्र य स्स प्रभुगुण महितो भूतलक्ष्यातकीर्त्ति ॥ [४] एतस्मा द्र
14 ण विक्रमात्प्रथुबला त्सत्याश्रयक्षमाभृतः । पृथ्वीशः पृ थि वी प तिः पृथुनिभो
15 लोकस्तुतो भूतसुतः । तस्मात्तत्पृथिवीपते र्व्वसुमतीख्यातो म हा रा ज

—P

Second plate, Second side.

- 16 कः । त्यागौदार्यवरः परार्थ निरतः प्रादुर्व्वभूवात्मज [५] आमी तस्मान्महाराजा दा
17 त्मजः पृ थु वि क्र मः । पृथुमान्वातृसंकाशो रा जा दि त्यो धराधिपः ॥ [६]
ततोभव त्सुतः श्री
18 मान् श्रीरामो रामविक्रमः । विश्वराड् वि न या दि त्यो यु द्ध म लो नृपान्कुशः ॥ [७]
19 गुरुदोर्दण्ड प्रचण्डस्फुरदसिलतिक्रान्ति राजन्यलक्ष्मी । करयुग्मोत्था
20 पिते न्दुयुतिहर श्ववळाम्भोज न्नीलातपत्रः । धरणीदिक्चक्रवाळान्तग निग्वि
21 ल गुणोद्भगसि रा जा श्र य । स्तागरवेलावेष्टितोद्यत्सकलवसुमतीवल्लभो
22 यु द्ध म लः ॥ [८] तुरङ्ग यवन वर्ण काश्मीर काम्भोज मगध माळ्य कळिङ्ग गंग
23 पल्लव पाण्ड्य केरळप्रभृति नरपति ससम्भ्रम समर्चित पादपीठः

Third plate, First side

- 24 भगवन्नारायण वरवराहलाञ्छन वशीकृताशेष विश्वम्भराचक्रः ॥
25 अभव द्वि न या दि त्या न्नल नहुष दिलीप दुन्धुमारप्रतिमः अ रि के स रीति
26 नाम्ना मूनुः क्षीरोदधेर्यथा शिशिरांशुः ॥ राजश्रियं वश्रसिभारतीमुग्धं । वीर
27 श्रियन्दोषि गुरै स्वदक्षिणे । दिक्चक्रवाळभ्रमणोद्यतान्दधन् । कीर्त्ति
28 प्रतापे रिपुदर्पनाशने ॥ [९] व्याकरण धर्मविद्विरदतन्त्रदक्षः सदा न्याय
29 निपुणो धनुर्विदित शिश्रयाविश्रुतः आयति मुपेतवान्जगति वैद्यशा
30 स्त्रोदधिकां श्री म द रि के स री नृपगुणै र्समाविष्कृतः समस्तभुवनराज
31 लक्ष्मीनिवासवक्षस्थलः स्वभुजबलाकृष्ट दारासनज्यालता

Third plate, Second side.

- 32 विमुक्त नाराचपरम्परापराजित परावनीपाल संस्तूयमानरक्षणाजुनः
33 शुम्भदम्भोधि सेखलाकलापावृत वसुन्धरातल सन्धारणस्तम्भाय
34 मानभुजागर्गळः समस्तलोकाश्रयः त्रिभुवनमल्लः राजत्रिणेत्रः सा

- 35 हस्ररामः इत्येतै रभिधानै रभिष्टुतः ॥ कलौऽयाप्ते जग त्यास्मि न्मुरेन्द्रे
36 भार्कसागराः । दानेन तेजसा स्थित्या जितायेन महात्मनः ॥ [१०] अकुटगु
37 रुकुलेन शैवाचार्यै रवाप्ततपः प्रभावस्य श्री कण्ठाया स श्री पर्वतो
38 त्तरद्वारे पश्चा देली श्व रे कृतनिलये सदाशाकाहारिणः स यो शि वा चा र्य
39 स्य शिष्यः सिद्धान्तबद्धबुद्धिः ध्यानप्रध्वस्तदुरित प्रबन्धप्रचय

Fourth plate, First side.

- 40 मुग्धशशिशेखर श्री मुग्धशिवो नाम शुद्धचरितो महितः तस्मै महामुनये
41 श्री म द रि के स रि णा समस्तलोकाश्रयेण राजात्रिणेत्रेण ॥ पूर्वोदितेन क्षिति
42 भृत्युतेन । राजान्कुशेनाह्वायिक्रमेण । ग्राम शिशवाराधनतत्परार्थं । तपस्वि
43 ने मुग्धशिवाय दत्तः ॥ [११] अयं श्री म द रि के श रि णो धर्मः ॥ विद्यदानमिदं
44 दत्तम् ॥ सग्रामः राम डु वि प ये ऊरिगेनमाविख्यात महाग्रामस्य दक्षि
45 णदिग्भागस्थितो ग्रामः बेल्मोग मिति नाम्ना विश्रुतः तुवतोरु परिवर्तुर्ल
46 पुल्चेऽबुळ पोतुवोदुपि इत्येतेषां ग्रामाणां स मध्यस्थितः ॥

Fourth plate, Second side.

- 47 उक्तंच मन्वादिभिः ॥ खदत्तां परदत्तां वा योहरेत वसुन्धरां । पष्टि व
48 पे महन्त्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [१२] भूमिदानात्परं पुण्यं न भू
49 तो न भविष्यति । तस्यै व ह्यत्परं पापं न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥ [१३] बहु
50 भि र्वसुधां भुक्ता राजभि रसगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यथाभूमि स्तस्य
51 तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ तृणाग्र विश्रान्ततुषारसञ्चलं श्रियन्तथा जी
52 वित मात्मनः पुमान् । समाक्ष्य बुध्या द्विजदेवदत्तिषु प्रलोभयेत्कः परे ... ॥

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Ll. 3 - 4. In the lineage of the Chalukyas which was the birth place of great heroes, fit to protect the earth, was born Satyāśraya, like the Moon in the Ocean of Milk. He slew the enemy-kings with the prowess of his drawn sword, and spread his pure fame on the earth. He became famous for his great qualities which made him fit to be the lord of the universe. He bore the epithets *Raṇavikrama* and *Prithubala*.

Ll. 15 - 16. To Satyāśraya was born a son named Prithivīpati. His son was known as Mahārāja. The son of Mahārāja was Rājāditya. Whose glory was equal to that of Māndhātā and Prithu.

Ll. 16—18. The son of Rājāditya was Vinayāditya. He bore the surnames *Śrīrama*, *Rāmavikrama*, *Viśvarāt*, and *Nṛipamkuśa*, and he second name Yuddhamalla.

Ll. 19—24. Vinayāditya became the lord of the earth surrounded by the four oceans. He defeated the Turushkas, Barabaras, Yavanas, the lords of Kāśmira, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries. He conquered the whole earth through the boon granted by the God Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) in the form of the boar-crest (*Varāha-lāñchhana*).

Ll. 25—36. The son of Vinayāditya was Arikēsari, who equaled Nala, Nahusha, Dilīpa, and Dundhumāra. He studied Grammar, was a master of the science and art of managing the elephants, a just law-giver, a skilled archer, and a master of the science of Medicine-Physician.

Ll. 34—35. He bore the epithets *Samastalokaśraya*, Tribhuvana-malla, Raja-Trinētra, and Sāhasa-Rama.

Then follow the description of the donee:

Ll. 35—40. In the lineage of the Saiva pontiffs of the Ankuṭa *guru-kula* monastery arose the great saint Mugdha Śivāchārya, the disciple of Sadyō Śivāchārya. He took up his residence at Ēlīsvaram (Ēlēsvaram) which lay to the north of Śrīsaila hill which is celebrated for the great temple of Śrikanṭha Śiva. Mugdha Śiva was noted for his pure character, capacity for working miracles, for his knowledge of the Satva doctrines, (*śaiva-Siddhānt*). He was known by the second name Mugdha Śaśi śēkhara. To him, Mugdha Śaśi Śēkhara, king Arikēsarin gave away the village of Belmoga in the Rāmaḍu vishaya (district) as *vidyā-lāna*, gift for learning. The village lay to the north of the great village *mahagrama* of Ūrige, and bounded by Tuvatōṛu, Parivaturla Puḷcheruvuḷ and Pōtuvōdupi, on all sides.

Then follow the usual imprecatory verses.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GĀNGAS OF KĀLINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter III.

(Continued from page 86 of Vol. VI, Part 2)

The Early Kings.

The third grant of this king was discovered at Siddhantam, near Mukhalingam, and published long ago.³⁴ It is dated in the year 195 of Ganga Era. It was written in Telugu-Kannada Characters. The Plates record the grant of one *Hala* (plough-share) of land in the village of Siddhārthaka in the district of Varāhavartani, on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana, to Tamparasarma *Dikshita*, a resident of Erandapalli and a great Vedic Scholar. The grant was written, on the advice of the *Purohit* Charampa Nandisarma, by Madanānkura Pallava, son of Māirichandra who also lived in Erandapalli and who might be a brother of Pallavachandra, the writer of the Chicacole Plates. This Erandapalli is rightly identified with the Erandapalli of Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

9. *Dēvabhavarma's son, Anantavarma II. G.E. 204 = A. D. 698.*

Along with the C. P. Grant of Dēvēndravarma of G.E. 184, a grant of this king also was discovered in a field near Dharmalingēśvara Temple near the village of Gurandi in Parlakimidi Taluq. Both were noticed merely in Ep. Rep. for 1920-21. Both were published by Mr. Satyanarayana, Rajaguru.³⁵ Another C. P. Grant of this king Anantavarma was simply noticed in the Ep. Report for 1918-19 and it appears to record a gift of land in Kanṭakavartani *Vishaya* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. It is also a Sanskrit inscription written in Telugu characters. Since both the records, dated in G. E. 184 and 204, were found at one and the same place and since both were written by the same scribe in the same characters, it is considered rightly that Anantavarma of G. E. 204 is the son of Dēvēndravarma of G. E. 184. The Geneology of these kings becomes clearer from this period. Though the suffixes of the names of these kings are different such as Arṇava, Varma and Varmadeva, it must be noted that the kings belong to one and the same branch or line.

34. *Siddhantam Plates of Dēvēndravarma* published in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, pp. 213-215.

35. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pp. 271-274. Also, A.R.S.I, Ep. for 1918-19 and 1920-21.

This record, dated in G. E. 204, has a seal bearing the figures of bull, conch and crescent in relief. It is a Sanskrit record written in old *Nāgari* letters. It states that, from the victorious Kalinganagara, the devout worshipper of Īśa or Siva and the son of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarma, the illustrious Anantavarma issued the order to the cultivators in the village of Tālaththēra situated in the district of Krōshtukavarttani and intimated to them that, at the time of the marriage of a girl, the village was granted to a donee named Viṣṇu Sōmāchārya of Parāśaragōtra, a native of Srngaṭikāgrahāra in the district of Kāmarupa (Assam), who was well-versed in Vedas and Vedañgas, for the merit of his own brother Jayavarma, himself and his parents. As usual, the cultivators of the said village were asked to give the proper shares of produce and other enjoyments to the Donee. The grant was made, on the 13th day of bright fortnight in the month of Margasira, in the prosperous and victorious ruling year 204.

10. *Anantavarma's son, Nantavarma. G. E. 221 = A. D. 715.*

A C. P. Grant of this king dated in G. E. 221 was discovered in the village of Saṭitabommali near Tekkali and published by Mr. Satyanarayana *Rajaguru*.³⁶

The ring holding the three plates has a seal which bears images of bull, conch-shell, chowri etd. The alphabet employed is of old *Nāgari* type and the language is Sanskrit.

This charter contains the grant of certain lands made by Maharaja Nandavarma³⁷ son of Anantavarma dated in the Ganga year 221. It was actually made on the 5th day of the month of Ashāda.

The king, who possesses the usual titles found in all the E. Ganga C. P. grants, having assembled the *Bhōgikas*, *Vārikas* and *Kuṭumbinas* of Chikallika grama, informs them that, on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, and for the increase of his merit, he granted certain lands in it to Adityasarma, Matrusarma and Durgasarma, three Vedic Brahmins of Kaundinyasa *gōtra*, free from all taxes and obstacles.

The *Bhōgikas* seem to be the Royal Officers in charge of land revenue and the *Vārikas* the water-tax collectors, while the *Kuṭumbinas* are heads of families of cultivators in the village and, as usual, the king

36. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pp. 185-189.

37. While reviewing this C.P. Grant in J. A. H. R.S. Vol. III Pts. 2, 3 and 4, pp. 75-84, Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A., states that the date of the grant is 323 G.E. and the name of the king is Indravarma but his reasons for the same are far from convincing. Mr. Rajaguru who first edited the Plates, has well met the arguments of Mr. G. Ramadas. Vide his *Reply to Review* in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV, pp. 9-20.

intimated the gifts made by him to them. It was incumbent upon them to continue the royal gifts in the enjoyment of the Donees according to the royal order.

11. *Anantavarma's son, Devēndravarma III. G.E. 254 = A.D. 748.*

Dr. Fleet published³⁸ a C. P. Grant of this king under the title "*The Vizag C. P. Grant of Devēndravarmān dated 254 of an Era.*" The Seal of this charter contained as usual a bull couchant to the right. Dr. Fleet has wrongly identified this king with his namesake whose grant was dated really in G.E. 51 but which was read by him wrongly as 251 G. E. This king appears to be the second son of Anantavarma and the younger brother of Nandavarma. The charter was given from Kalinganagara which was wrongly identified by Dr. Fleet with Kalingapattanam which is at the mouth of the River Vamśadhāra. (The object of the grant was to bestow some villages in the district of Devadamana on God Dharmēśwara.)

The king commands the cultivators of *ṭaḍuva māsiṇā pudilā śoligamuḍulā* in the district of Dāvadamādam. It is not possible to make out the meaning of the phrase nor to identify the villages. The king states that he was instructed to perform this act of religion by his maternal uncle Dharmakhedi in connection with an *ayana*— the act of granting the villages noted above to the Holy God (Dharmēśwara Bhattāraka after duly installing him.) The act of naming Gods after kings or their consorts or close relatives is known to, and practised by, the kings of the several dynasties then ruling over South India. In the presence of *Purohita* (Priest) Adityadeva, the grant was written by Ugradeva, son of the *Rahasya* (Private Secretary) Durgadeva and engraved by *Akshaśālī* (Engraver) the *Sāmanta* khandi in G. E. 254, at the time when the superintendence of the shrine, *Sthānādhikara*, belonged to the holy Brahmin Sōmācharya. (From the several C. P. grants examined so far, we learn that almost all the Early Eastern Gaṅgas installed Sivalingams, built temples and constituted agraharams. Rich endowments were made to them. The Brahmins who were well-versed in Vedas, Vedaṅgas and Śāstras were encouraged to settle in the Kalinga country. The tutelary or family God was Gokarnēśwara, seated on Mount Mahendra in Ganjam District. The Ganga kings called themselves the devout worshippers of Iśwara. It is probable that, by encouraging Brahmanical Hinduism, by patronising Vedic learning and by reviving Sanskrit studies they paved the way for the fall of Jainism and Buddhism in Kalinga. The king states that, being influenced by his own maternal uncle Dharma Khedi, he installed the

linga form of Dharmēśwara. Now, it is known that *Khedi* is the titular sign of kings belonging to Kadamba Dynasty. In Mysore, the W. Kadambas and the W. Gangas lived as independent dynasties but in Kalinga, the E. Kadambas were employed as Village-heads, Governors of districts and Commanders under the E. Gaṅga kings. They were related by marital ties also to their Overlords. Even now, in some districts of Orissa Feudatory States, both the E. Gangas and the E. Kadambas still exist.)

12. *Rājendravarma's son, Anantavarma III.*

G. E. 284 and 304 = A. D. 778 and 798.

Dr. Hultzsch published³⁹ the C. P. grant of this king, dated in G. E. 304, which was discovered in a field in the village of Alamanda in Vizag District. The characters of the Grant are of the old Nagari type and the language is Sanskrit.

From victorious Kalinganagara, the devout worshipper of the Holy feet of God Gokarnēśwara seated on Mt. Mahendra and the pure jewel of the spotless family of the Gangas and Maharaja Rajendravarma's son, the illustrious Anantavarmadeva made the following order to the cultivators of the village of Medalaka in the district of Tirikata:- "Know ye all that, on the occasion of Solar eclipse and at the time of the foundation of a tank, this village is granted tax free to Sridharabhatta, son of Vishnudeva, of Vajasaneya branch and Kausikagotra and a native of Homvaravalasa village as he is well-versed in Vedas and Vedaṅgas".

The king's Private Secretary by name Durgappa wrote the grant in G. E. 304.

The king's C. P. Grant, dated 284, has simply been noticed in S. I. Ep. Reports.⁴⁰ The details are not forthcoming but the geneology of the kings from Gunarnava, the father of Devendra II to Rajendravarma II is settled.

13. *Rājendravarma's son, Devendravarma IV. G. E. 310 = A. D. 804.*

Two C. P. Grants of this king have been published⁴¹ in so far Ep. Indica and Ep. Carnataka. Both the sets were engraved by the same person called Khandimalla.

The C. P. grant published in Ep. Carnataka is said to contain on its (Seal an elephant but like the one published in Ep. Indica, it may be said to contain the figure of *Nandi* (Bull).) Its language is Sanskrit but the

39. Ep. Ind. Vol III, pp. 17--44.

40. A.R. on S.I. Ep. for 1918 and 1924, pp. 137-138 and 97-98 respectively.

41. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-13; Ep. Car. Bangalore Vol. Insc. No. 710.

alphabet is Tel-Kannada. The kings mentioned in both the sets are one and the same, being the sons of the same father. Both sets were issued from Kalinaganagara, the capital. Both mention Gōkarṇaswami, seated on Mt. Mahendra to be their family God. The grant published in Ep. Carnataka mentions that the king possessed the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. These titles indicate that the king made large conquests and had several feudatory kings under his control. The grant is particularly interesting to us because it reveals clearly that, among the early kings, he alone has such titles. The subject matter of the grant is briefly this:— Having assembled the cultivators of the village of Siddhanta (modern Siddhantam) in the district of Varāhavartani (modern Chicacole), the king informs them that the said village was granted to Rautaka, a native of Palukosu in order to provide worship and offerings to God Paramēśvara Paramabhattachāraka. It was made at the instance of Navanītēśwara of Śrīpārvata and written by Śrī Khandimalla, the same scribe that wrote the other grant of the king.

The Editor of this grant states that the date 254 G. E. is supposed to be equal to 774 A. D.⁴² If so, the Ganga Era would start about 520 A. D, a view that is very nearly correct. But his view that this grant belongs to 700 A. D. is not correct as G. E. 310, mentioned in the second grant of this king is equal to 810 A. D. according to our Chronology. This grant was made on the occasion of an *Ayana Saṅkrānti* and for the merit and fame of the king and his parents.

The second grant of this king was discovered in Tekkali in the Ganjam District and published in Ep. Ind. 43 with plates. (The seal contains the figures of *Nandi* (Bull) and *Kamala* (Lotus).) The alphabet is old Nagari and language Sanskrit. The grant states that Maharaja Dēvēndravarma, son of Mahārāja Rajendravarma, informed the villagers of Niyina in the district of Rūpavartani (Tekkali), granting the said village, free of all taxes, to a Brahmin poet, the son of *Mahā pratihāra* (the great door-keeper).

It was written by the illustrious vassal Sarvachandra and inscribed by the illustrious vassal Khandimalla in the Ganga year 310.

14. Anantavarma's son, Rājēndravarma II.

Two C. P. grants of this king are merely noticed in Ep. Reports.⁴⁴

A C. P. grant of this king dated in G. E. 342 is also edited⁴⁵. Its

42. Ep. Car. Vol. IX, p. 9.

43. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, No. 16.

44. A.R. on S.I. Ep. for 1918 and 1924 pages 137 ff. and 97 ff. respectively.

45. J.B.O.R.S. Vol XII, p. 101.

alphabet is old Telugu-Kannada said to belong to the 9th century. It was written by Raṇamēya, the Secretary for war and peace who was the son of Swamirāja. It contains a donative gift of the village of Tāmvedi made to Brahmins from the royal capital at Kalinganagara.

15. *Bhāpēndravarma's son, Dēvēndravarma V*, G. E. 397 = A. D. 891.

The Cheedivalasa Plates of this king, edited by me⁴⁶ are very important as they throw much useful light on the religious and social history of Kalinga at the close of the 9th century, besides giving us the geneology of the E. Ganga Kings for four generations.⁴⁷

The plates were discovered in the village of Cheedivalasa in the Ganjam Dt. This Cheedivalasa seems to be the village of Sividi granted by the king to certain Brahmins. (The first side of the first plate contains the figure of a Conch-shell and the second side of the third plate, a Lotus-creeper containing a flower and two buds on either side of it. The Seal on the ring which holds together the three plates contains, in the lowest part, a lotus flower with a long stem and on it a couchant bull. At the top of the seal, there is a crescent and below it the legend "Sri Dēvēndravarma" inscribed in old Dēvanagari characters.) The language of the inscription is Sanskrit but the village names are all mentioned in old Telugu language. The subject matter of the grant was composed and written by Madhupa. It was examined by two scholars Bhaṭṭa Sridhara and Bhaṭṭa Yazu. The date of the grant is given in both words and numericals as G. E. 397.

This grant is important for the following reasons:—

(1) It is the longest grant so far discovered of the Early Eastern Ganga Kings, consisting, as it does, of 42 lines.

(2) It gives the pedigree of the Early Ganga Dynasty to four generations unlike the other grants which mention only the king's name or sometimes his father's name also.

(3) It is the only record, among the early ones, in which we get mention made of gifts to Vanga or Bengal Brahmins.)

(4) It is so far the latest dated record of the Early Eastern Ganga Kings *published*, in full, mentioning G. E. 397. A Grant of Madhukāmārṇava, dated in G. E. 526, is simply noticed in Ep. Report.

(5) It mentions the following titles for the king's father: *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśwara*, and *Parama Mahēśwara* and these titles prove the paramount supremacy which the dynasty attained in the 9th century A. D. over the whole of Kalingadesa.

46. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 11, pp. 146-164.

47. Vide Nos. 20—23 in the Geneological Table.

The inscription records the grant of Sividi in the village of Kandalivada, made by Bhūpēndravarma's son, Śrī Dēvēndravarma, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, to the villagers of Sipidi by name Aditya Bhaṭṭa, Yazubhaṭṭa and Sendidevabhaṭṭa and others who were natives of Vangadēsa (Bengal) and who were of Bharadwāja gōtra and who were enthusiastic in performing sacrifices and reciting Vedas.

It would appear that the Donees were invited, on account of their Vedic scholarship, to settle in Sividi in Kalingadesa. (They were Bengal Brahmins and probably some of the present-day Kalinga Brahmins whose names end in *Bhaṭṭa* are the descendants of these Bengal Brahmins.) The village Sividi which was granted to them became Seedi or Cheedi-*Valasa* where the Plates came to the discovered. From Kalinganagara, which was said to contain many temples of great prosperity, the king, who worshipped God Gōkarnēśwara, seated on the Mahēndragiri whose Caves were the abodes of the illustrious *Siddhās* and *Tāpasas*, issued the grant. He had the titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśwara. He was the son of Bhūpēndravarma, whose father was Marasimha and grand-father Vajri (Vajrahasta). He issued the order to the cultivators of Kandalivada in Kōlū-vartani *viśaya*, informing them that the grant of Sividi region in Kandalivada village was made, for the merit of himself and his parents, on the occasion of solar eclipse, to certain Bengal Brahmins who observed *Gājādiksha*, who were of Bharadwāja gōtra and who showed much enthusiasm in performing sacrifices and studying Vēdas and Vēdāngas and who always practised Dharma as described in *Srutis* and *Smritis*. It would appear from the charter that they got certain sacrifices performed by the king who, in return granted them taxfree the said village.

Chapter IV.

*The Later Gaṅga Kings.**From Guṇamhārṇava to Vajrahasta.*

The geneology and chronology of the Later Ganga Kings⁴⁸ are more easily ascertainable from the several Copper-plate grants of Vajrahasta III and his grand-son Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga which mention the order and relationship of the kings and state the regnal period of each king. The use of the Śaka Era in the said grants enables us to fix the dates of each king in the Christian Era. The use of G. E. 526 in a C. P. grant of Madhukāmarnava⁴⁹ (No. 32 in my List) whose date in terms of Śaka Era also is known to us has enabled us to fix the initial year of the Gaṅga Era and to equate it with the corresponding Christian Year. The political history of the Later Gaṅgas also is made clearer from this time onwards. The History of the kings from the time of Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta II (No. 29 in my List) is also known to us from the several stone inscriptions of these kings found in the temples of Palur, Sri Kūrmam, and Mukhalingam in the Ganjam Dt., Simhachelam and Paunchadharla in the Vizag Dt., Drākshārāmam and Sarpavaram in the East Godavari Dt. and several other places. The Chola Rock Inscriptions on Mahēndragiri and the several C. P. Grants of the Eastern Kadambas found in the Ganjam Dt. also throw much useful light on the History of the Later E. Gangas.

The geneology and chronology, already given by me, came to be so fixed with the help of all the C. P. Grants of Vajrahasta published so far⁵⁰ and those of his grand-son Anantavarma-Chodaganga which tally with them in all respects.⁵¹

From the Nadagam (Ś. 979)⁵², Madras Museum (Ś. 984)⁵³ Narasi-pattanaṁ (Ś. 967)⁵⁴, Boddapadu (Ś. 982) and Chikkalavalasa (Ś. 982)⁵⁶ C. P. Grants of Vajrahasta, we get the following account of the Later Ganga Kings.⁵⁷—

48. Vide Nos. 24 to 35 in the Geneological Table.

49. A. R. on S.I. Ep. for 1918-19 C.P. No. 5.

50. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 222; Vol. IV, p. 183; Vol. IX p. 94; Vol. XI, p. 147; *Bharati* Vol. II p. 138 and Vol. III p. 82.

51. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I p. 40 and Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII p. 161 and p. 172.

52. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV p.

53. Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 94.

54. Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 147.

55. *Bharati* Vol. III pp. 82-94.

56. *Bharati*, Vol. II, pp. 138—155.

57. The Geneology and Chronology given in some of the C. P. Grants of Anantavarma Chodaganga e.g. those of 91034 and 1040 differ from those given in all the published Grants of Vajrahasta and some of Chodaganga e.g. Those of

The son of *Guṇamahārṇava* Mahārāja, who possessed the Earth by his valour and adorned the race of the Gangas who were famous for several virtues and who belonged to Atrēya *gōtra* and who enjoyed universal sovereignty with the royal insignia, viz, conch-shel, drum, the five *Mahāśabdas*, the white umbrella, the golden chowrie and the excellent bull-crest, obtained by favour of the Divine Gōkarṇaswāmi of Mahēndragiri and who were the Lords of Tri-Kalinga Country — the illustrious *Vajrahasta* ruled for 44 years. He, after defeating his enemies, consolidated the Kalinga Empire by uniting the five parts into which it was formerly divided. His son, *Guṇḍama* ruled for 3 years and then, his younger brother, *Kāmārṇava* for 35 years and then, his younger brother *Vinayādhiya* for 3 years. Then Kāmārṇava's son (Aniyanka Bhima) Ananta-varma *Vajrahasta*, who presented one thousand elephants to applicants, ruled for 35 years. Then his eldest son, *Kānārṇava*, for ½ year, and then his younger brother, *Gundama* for 3 years, ruled. Then, Gundama's maternal half-brother, *Madhukāmārṇava* succeeded and ruled for 19 years. Then Kāmārṇava's son, *Vajrahasta*, born of Vinayamahādēvi of Vaidumba family, succeeded and ruled for 33 years. He smote with his sword the thunderbolt falling from Heaven, and so richly deserved the title of *Vajrahasta* (Holder of thunderbolt in the hand).

From the C.P. grants of *Vajrahasta*, we learn, for the first time, that the latter Ganga kings belonged to Atrēya *Gōtra* and had the sovereignty over Tri-Kalinga country. The Donor of the Jirjangi C. P. Grant, dated in the Ganga year 39, had also the title of Tri-Kalingādhipati, though his successors are not found to possess it. It may be that they lost control over the South Kalinga country which, at this time, was ruled by a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas as attested by the presence of their inscriptions in that country. In the 10th century again, the Eastern Gangas got control over South Kalinga, and so took up paramount titles like Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśwara. Their royal insignia, shown on their seals, also proves the same fact. They are expressly referred to as Lords of Tri-Kalingas (Ut-kal or North Kalinga, Kalinga Proper and Tel-Kalinga or South Kalinga).

S' 1003 (2 sets) and S' 1057. As pointed out by Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu of Parlakimidi while editing the Nadagam Plates of *Vajrahasta*, the former cannot be taken to be correct. Hence, the latter alone is followed in this work. It is a pity that such a renowned scholar as the late R.D. Banerji did not discuss this point at all in his newly published work *History of Orissa*. His treatment of the History of the Early Gangas is defective owing to his not studying the several inscriptions of the kings published in *Bharati* and *J. A. H. R. S.* Also, his description of the reigns of the later kings is marred by his ignorance of the Telugu language in which most of their inscriptions are written and consequent lack of study of several useful source materials.

Vajrahasta, son of Gunamahārṇava (No. 25th in the Geneological Table already given) is said to have conquered and united Kalinga into one country when the same was divided into five parts by his predecessors. This has led some Scholars to state that there were five different and collateral Ganga Lines ruling over different parts of Kalingadesa. In spite of the Ganga Era being used continuously by these kings who, from their titles and relationship, are found to belong to the same Line, certain scholars have wrongly constructed a Geneological Table showing five different Lines⁵⁸

Vajrahasta (No. 29th in the Table) who was the son of Kāmārṇava ruled for 36 years from Ś. 901 to Ś. 936. An inscription of this king is found⁵⁹ in front of the Vatēśwara temple in the village of Palur in the Ganjam District. It states that certain lands and 24 she-buffaloes were granted tax free to the Vatēśwara and Virēśwara Gods. He had the title of Aniyanka Bhima. It may be that the Aniyanka-Bhimēśwara Temple at Mukhalingam was built by him after his own name. He had three sons of whom the third and the last, *Madhukāmārṇava* (No 32 in the Table) ruled for 19 years from Ś. 941 to Ś. 959. He was the maternal half-brother of *Gundama*, his predecessor on the throne. A copper-plate Grant of Madhukāmārṇava has recently been discovered and noticed briefly. It belongs to Gārgēya year 526. He is said to be the son of Anantavarma. He granted the three villages of Patugrama, Hondavado and Morakhini constituting them into a *Vatījāgrahāram* to Erapanayaka, son of Manchinayak of vaisya caste. This is the first instance of a Ganga king granting gifts to vaisyas and constituting certain villages into *Agrahārams* for their benefit. It is interesting to note that, by this means, Arya Vaisyas were also encouraged to come and settle in the country probably to develop the internal trade and foreign commerce. At the present day, in the Kalinga country, there are both Arya Vaisyas and Kalinga Komatis living side by side, in the neighbouring villages but following different religious and social customs.

This King's father and predecessor was named Anantavarma just as his brother's son and successor. Vajrahasta was also similarly named. It is probable, therefore, that AniyankaBhima Vajrahasta was the king's father and his real name was Anantavarma.

The king's mention of G. E. 526 in his Grant and the fact that he ascended the throne in Ś. 941 have led us already to conclude that the Gaṅga Era started in or about Ś. 415 or 493 A. D., granting that the gift was made by him soon after his accession to the

⁵⁸ Mr. Satyanarayana Rajguru maintains this view in J.A. H. R. S. Vol. III, pp 36-38

⁵⁹ Insc. No. 828 in the Ep. Report for 1918-1919.

⁶⁰ C. P. No. 5, in the Ep. Report for 1918-1919.

throne. It is the discovery of this king's grant of G. E. 526 that has led to the solution of the difficult problem of Gaṅga Chronology.

The next king is *Vajrahasta* called the Third by some and the Fifth by others. According to the geneology supplied by his several C. P. Grants, he is the third king of that name. But since there is a Vajri or Vajrahasta mentioned in the Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarṇa V. as his great grand father and since another of the same name may reasonably be considered to have succeeded him and preceeded Guṇamahārṇava, the view that Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava may be called the Fifth of that name should prevail.

The history of his reign is based on *five* of his own published C. P. Grants, *four* of his vassals the Kadambas,⁶¹ *five* of his grandson Anantavarṇa Chodaganga, *five* stone inscriptions of Vajrahasta found in the Mukhalingam Temple⁶² and the two Chola rock inscriptions on Mahendragiri.⁶³ The two Kendupatna C. P. Grants of Narasimha II and the two Puri C. P. Grants of Narasimha IV also throw useful light on the history of this reign. Two C. P. Grants of Anantavarṇa Chodaganga dated Ś. 1034 and Ś. 1040 state that Vajrahasta V. was the son of Madhukāmārṇava and not of his step-brother Kāmārṇava as stated in his own other grants dated Ś. 1003 (two sets) and Ś. 1057. But since all the C. P. grants of Vajrahasta support the latter view, it must be accepted by us.

Vajrahasta V. was born to Kāmārṇava and his wife Vinayamahādēvi born of Vaidumba family. The seals of all his C. P. grants show the figures of Bull, Conch-shell, Elephant-goad, Trident, Crescent, Battle-axe, Staff, and Drum and other royal insignia. They prove that the king was of the Lunar dynasty and a devout worshipper of Siva. He was also the paramount sovereign of Tri-kalinga country which extended from the River Ganges in the North to the River Godavari in the South.

His C. P. grant, dated in G. E. 967, was issued from Dantipura, probably the modern Dantapura Ruins near the Chicacole Road Ry. Station. It shows that the king possessed the titles of *Paramamahēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikalingādhipati*. It records the grant of Gaurasattavishāya, containing 35 villages excepting Tampava, by the king to the illustrious Adityachotta or Aditya choda alias Irugana, the grand-son of Chotṭachotta and his Vaidumba Queen,

61. The C. P. Grants of Dharmakhedi, Dāraparaja and Udayaditya were published in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III, pp. 171-180, Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 221 and *Bharati* dated Nov. 1927, respectively. A grant of Rānaka Śrī Dharmakhedi dated S. 976 is recently published in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII, pp. 175-188.

62. S. I. Inscription Vol. V, p. 412, Nos. 1120-23 and 1133.

63. S. I. Inscription Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.

Since the king's mother was also a Vaidumba princess, it "may" be supposed that the Donee was a close relative of the king. The Vaidumbas ruled over the modern Madanapalli Taluq of the Chittur District. The villages granted were lying close to the hills near the river Vamśadhāra. It is interesting to learn that the E. Ganga kings had matrimonial connections with the Cholas, Vaidumbas, E. Chalukyas and E. Kadambas, and this fact is known to us from their charters dating from the 10th century. This charter which is in the Sanskrit language and *nagari* characters was written by the King's Foreign Secretary, Dhavala.

Vajrahasta's Nadagam plates which are dated in Ś. 979 give the same details regarding the king's predecessors and royal titles. The Grant was, however, issued from Kalinganagara in Ś. 979 or A.D. 1057. It states that the king was crowned in Ś. 960 or A. D. 1037, and that twelve villages, being constituted into Velpura-*agrahāra*, were granted, in the presence of Janapadas and Ministers and at the time of Govindadwādasi to a certain Pangu Somayya. There is a certain Somayya who is mentioned as the Commander and Son-in-law of this king and it is probable that the gift was made to him.

The king's Grant dated in Ś. 984 was also issued from Kalinganagara. It resembles the two grants noted above regarding the first 41 lines and confirms the date of the accession of the king to be 3rd May 1037 A. D. From Kalinganagara, Anantavarma Vajrahasta Deva granted, tax free and free from all obstacles, to 500 Brahmins well-versed in the six *Śāstras*, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, the village of Tamara-cheruvu along with Chikalivatika in the district of Varahavartani after first constituting it into an *agrahāra*. Also, the king granted land producing 200 *murakas* of grain to God Kotiswara for his worship and offerings. The Brahmins who received the grant were expressly instructed not only to continue the worship perpetually but also to repair the temple and keep it in good state.

A fourth grant of this king has recently been published in Tuluugu under the heading *Chikkāvalasa Plates*. The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it gives the actual time of the coronation ceremony which took place on the third *thithi* in the bright fortnight on Sunday night at 8—27 P.M. The grant records that, on the occasion of *Gaurivratam* and on the third *thithi* in the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika in Ś. 982, the king made a gift of the village of Kuddama in the district of Koluvartani or Varahavartani (Chicacole Taluq) to a Vaisya named Mallapasreshti, son of Somanasreshti. This is the second instance of the Ganga kings' making gifts to Vaisyas, the first being that of Madhukāmārnava to Erapaṇayaka in G. E. 526. Mallapa sreshti, after reserving sites for habitation and gardening and a piece of land yielding 100 *murakas* of grain for his own use, granted away the

rest of what he got from the king to Mapaya, a Brahmin and a native of Jalamvuru and the son of Karantama Nayaka and to his 30 Brahmin followers on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana* along with a present of 8 *Māḍas* or gold pieces. This is again the first instance of Ganga *māḍas* or gold pieces being given away as presents and this shows the state of the currency and the prosperity of the kingdom.

A fifth grant of this king called the *Boddapādu Plates* was also published recently in Telugu and it closely resembles the Chikkala-valasa Grant. It was also issued from Kalinganagara, in the presence of all the Ministers and Jānapadas. The king granted tax free the village of Avarenga in the district of Koluvarṭani (Parlakimidi) to the village God Jalēśwaraswami, for his worship and enjoyment, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Śmṛkrānti*. At the same time, the king granted to Erayama and Vallemozu certain *Vrittis* of land. The village of Avarenga seems to be the modern Avlingi village in the Parlakimidi Taluq. The engraver of the grant is called Vallemozu and probably he is one of the donees named. It is again this Vallemozu that engraved the Korni plates of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated in Ś. 1003. Erayama, the other donee mentioned in this grant, seems to be a Mēdari by caste. Possibly, the *vrittis* of land were made to the Donees for the services they rendered to the god Jalēśwaraswami. The gifts were in the nature of Service *Ināms*. The grant was written by Damodara, the Secretary for war and peace. From a C.P. grant⁶⁴ of this king's son, Devendravarma RajaRaja, we learn that that king ascended the throne in Ś. 992. So, Vajrahasta must have ruled from Ś. 960 to Ś. 992 i.e. for 33 years. This view receives support from all the C. P. Grants of Chodaganga, where this king is given a reign of 33 years.

In the annual report on S. I. Ep. for 1918-19, a C.P. grant of this king (No. 3 in the list) dated in Ś. 971 (Karkataka Śuklapaksha Trayōdaśī. Bhānuvāram) records the gift of the village of Sattivāḍa in Etāḍa-vishaya to Gaṇapati-Nāyaka, the grandson of Gaṇapati a resident of the village of Valatavūru in Kaichidēśā.

Four E. Kadamba C. P. grants also throw some useful light on this reign. The Simhapura Plates of Dharmakhēdi which were discovered in Santa Bommali near Tekkali are dated in 520 of Ganga Kadamba Era. Since the Kadambas were closely related to the Gangas and since they were subordinate to them, being their viceroys and commanders and since they expressly call the Era as *Gaṅga-Kadamba* Era, it must be considered that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 is equal to the Ganga year 520. Again, since the Ganga year 526 relates to

64. C. P. No. 4 in A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1918-1919.

Madhukāmārṇava's reign, it is probable that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 also relates to the same reign. If we now look at the contents of the grant of Dharmakhedi, we get good support for this view. Dharmakhedi, the son of Bhamakhedi and grandson of Niyārṇava, who lived in Jayantapura and who had the titles of *Panchavishaya-maṇḍalēśwara*, *Mahēndrādhipati* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara*, granted, in the presence of his *Amātyas* and *Panchapātras* and the *Pradhāns* and *Jānapadas* of Rāshtrakūṭavishaya, to 300 Brahmins the village of Dharmapura in Mahēndrabhōgavishaya in the Ganga-Kadamba year 520, during the reign of the illustrious *Dēvēndravarma*, son of the illustrious *Anantavarma* of the pure family of the Gangas who lived in Kalinganagara being devoted to Gokarnaswami of Mahēndragiri and who had the titles of *Paramēśwara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Sakala-kalingādhiraja*. Now, this *Dēvēndravarma*, son of *Anantavarma* was already identified by me⁶⁵ with *Madhukāmārṇava*, son of *Aniyankabhima Vajrahasta* alias *Anantavarma*, because in the Later Ganga Geneology, from the 29th to the 36th king, we get alternately the names of *Anantavarma* and *Devendravarma*. So, *Madhukāmārṇava* who actually issued a grant in the Ganga year 526 must be regarded as having had the title of *Dēvēndravarma* and as being the Over-lord of Dharmakhedi who made his grant in the G. K. Era 520.

From this Kadamba grant, we learn that, in the time of *Devendravarma* and his successor *Anantavarma Vajrahasta V*, the Government was highly organised and the Empire was divided into *Mahāmaṇḍalas* or Great Provinces, *Maṇḍalas* or provinces, *Vishayas* or Districts, *Bhogas* or Taluqs and *Grāmas* or villages. There were officers of different ranks to rule over these territorial limits and the hierarchy of officials mentioned in the several grants with their duties only shows that the Ganga Empire was already large and powerful. The *Amātyas* or Ministers, the *Panchapātras* or the Five Great Chiefs, the *Pradhāns* or Lesser Ministers, the *Jānapadas* or Village Communities played a less powerful part than the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśwaras* or Great Provincial Lords and *Panchavishaya Maṇḍalēśwaras* or Governors of Five Districts. The Kadamba Princes who used an Era of their own, synchronising with that of their overlords, were the great provincial viceroys who employed under them lesser officials. Their capital was Jayantapura in Mahēndrabhoga vishaya or the modern Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District. The Ganga Kings similarly employed as their Commanders and Governors their close relatives the Vaidumbas, the Pallavas and the Chodas.⁶⁶ Officers like

65. Vide *Kalingadesacharitra*, edited by me, p. 532.

66. Vide the C.P. grant dated S. 967 of *Vajrahasta V*. in Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 147-153.

Mahapratihara or the great door-keeper, *Rahasyādhikāri* or the king's private Secretary, *Ajñāpati* or executor of royal grants, *Śāsanādhikāri* or official in charge of royal rescripts, *Mahāsandhivigrahika* or the great Secretary for war and peace, *Purohit* or the king's spiritual adviser and other Court or Temple officers, all remind us of the state of similar organisation in England under the Normans at about the same time.

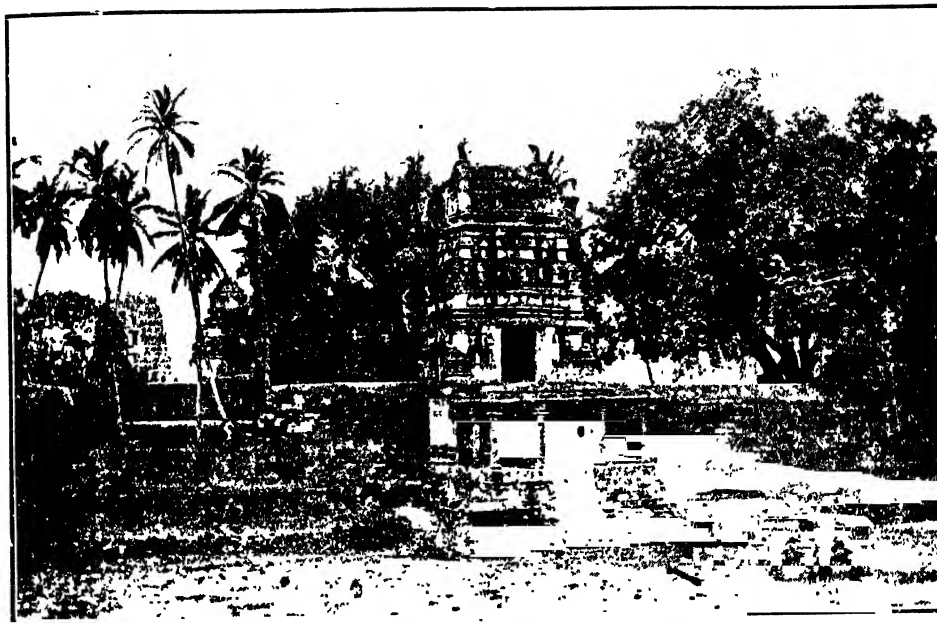
Another Kadamba C.P. grant of the time of Vajrahasta V. which belongs to Dāraparāja resembles the one noted above and gives the same titles to the Ganga Overlords. It expressly refers to the reign of Vajrahasta and states that in that reign Dāraparāja, son of Chola Kāmadirāja and Lord of Panchavishaya and *jewel of the Ganga family* granted the village of Hossandi to Kamadirāja, son of Erayamaraja of the Nagar Saluki family, at the time of marrying his daughter to him. The executor of this grant was Ugrakhēḍi, a Kadamba Prince and the writer was the great Foreign Secretary Drōnāchārya.

Along with the Chikkalavalasa C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, a certain Devēndravarma's Kambakaya C. P. Grant was also discovered. It contains on its Seal, like the other C. P. Grants of the E. Kadamba kings, a crescent at the top, a fish in the middle and an elephant-goad at the bottom. It states that, while Devendravarma, having his capital at Kalinganagara was living in Dantapura, the grant of Revenija village was made to two Brahmin Nayaks by his great provincial governor, the Kadamba Chief Udayaditya, son of Dharmakhedi. Since the date of the grant is given as Ś. 1103 Devendravarma mentioned in it should be identified with Anantavarma Chodaganga's son, Raja-Raja II. But that king does not possess the title Devendravarma and so the date of the Grant is doubtful. It may refer to the reign of Devendravarma RajaRaja, son of Vajrahasta V.

A very important C. P. Grant of Dharmakhedi, son of Bhama-khedi has recently been published and it belongs to Ś. 976. It is stated in that grant that, in the 15th regnal year of Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, his great provincial governor and jewel of Kadamba family, by name, Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi granted to a certain Ujanaka the Madipatharakhanda in Mahēndrabhōga *vishaya*. It is already known to us from the Simhapura Plates of Dharmakhedi, dated in the G. K. Era 520, that he was the son of Bhamakhedi and there is no doubt that the Dharmakhedi of this grant is the same as that of the Simhapura Plates. Evidently, he lived in the reigns of both Madhukāmārava and his successor Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva V.

There are five stone inscriptions in the Mukhalingam temple which also relate to Vajrahasta's reign. Of these, No. 1120 dated in Ś. 990 states that Vajrahasta's wife was called Vijaya Mahadevi and she was the daughter

of the Haihaya king and that she endowed God Madhukēśwara with a lamp in perpetuity i.e., so long as the moon and the sun last. No. 1121 belongs to the 39th Anka year of the king. For the first time, we learn that from this reign onwards, the anka mode of reckoning came to be adopted in stone inscriptions. In this mode of reckoning, the numerals 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 30, 40 and so on will have to be deducted from the total regnal period so that if a king is said to have ruled for 42 anka years, his real period of rule will be only 35 years. Now, since in this second inscription, the king is given 39 years, we must note that he ruled really for 33 years, a fact which is known to us already from his several C. P. grants. This inscription states that Gundama Nayaki of Kāyastha family who was the wife of the king's commander Madhuriya endowed 50 sheep for burning a perpetual-lamp to God Madhukēśwara. This custom of burning lamps to Śiva is a meritorious act which was supposed to bring children and prosperity to the Donors. The third inscription No. 1122 refers to the various paramount titles of the king noted in his C. P. Grants and states that the first or chief Queen of Vajrahasta, by name, Prithvimahādevi, made large grants for burning perpetual lamps to God Madhukēśwara in the presence of all the ministers, chiefs and jānapadas. This custom of burning lamps is also found in the European Roman Catholic Church system and it is believed by the people that their sins will be washed off by doing such acts. The fourth inscription, No. 1123, belongs to Ś. 980 and refers to a donative gift of five *puttis* of land (40 acres) to Madhukēśwara by Rekama, wife of Kapavanayaka. The fifth inscription, No. 1133, belongs to the 35th anka year or 30th regnal year of his rule and mentions all the sovereign titles of the king including *Paramēśwara* and *Paramabhāṭāraka*. It records a donative gift of an inhabitant living on the banks of the River Godavari to Madhukēśwara on the occasion of Vishuva Samkranti. From the foregoing account, we learn that Vajrahasta V. ruled from Ś. 960 to Ś. 992 or from A.D. 1037 to 1069 and had all the sovereign titles including that of Trikalīngādhipati. The Kalachuris, Mastyas, Kadambas, Nalas, Vaidumbis, Pallavas and Haihayas were all related to the E. Ganga kings one way or the other. The Empire grew in power and extent and was ruled on highly organised lines. It was divided into several districts such as Kōḷuvartani, Varahavartani, Rupavartani, Jalamvoru, Mahendrabhoga, Rashtrakuta and Bhogapura and these districts were ruled by Vishayādhipatis or district officials who were responsible for collecting the king's rent, preserving the king's peace and executing all royal orders. It is not only the king and his close relatives but also his courtiers, local officials and the public that made donative gifts to learned Brahmins or Gods, on ceremonial and religious occasions, generally for their own merit but occasionally for the merit or success of kings. The Simhapura Plates of Dharmakhedi and the Madras Museum



Drākshāramam Temple



Srikūrmam Temple



Image of Vajrahasta found in the Mukhalingam Temple

Plates of Indravarmadeva give a list of the names of important officials of the times such as *Panchavishaya-maṇḍalēśvara* (Provincial Governor), *Panchapātra* (Military Commander), *Amātya* (Minister), *Mahāsāmantā* (Great Feudatory), *Rājānaka* (King's Secretary), *Rājaputra* (Crown Prince), *Dandanāyaka* (Magistrate), *Uparika* (Overseer), *Purohita* (King's Spiritual Adviser), *Samlhavyagrahika* (Minister for war and peace), *Mahā-pratihāra* (Chamberlain), *Akṣaśālī* (Inscriber of documents), *Daṇḍapāśika* (Police Superintendent), *Bhata-Ūñāta* (Regular and Irregular Soldiers), *Grāmipati* (Village Head-man), and *Yathākālādhyāsi* (Regular attendant). This hierarchy of officials, existing in the 11th century Ganga Empire, which held its extent from the River Mahanadi in the north to the River Godavari in the south and which even extended beyond these limits in the later reigns, clearly proves how the administrative machinery was minutely divided and worked to the highest pitch of efficiency. We learn still more interesting details from the several C. P. and Stone inscriptions of the times. In making these donative gifts to Temples or Brahmins or Vaisyas or Khayastas or Court Servants, it was the custom for the kings or their consorts to assemble the several Ministers, Jānapadas and Heads of cultivating families and to proclaim the gifts, issuing an order, at the same time, to them to execute the gifts according to royal instructions. Religion, Learning and State interests were all alike patronised by the Royal Donors. Princes and People also. The king who was collecting taxes on land, water, income, profession as well as tributes, customs-duties court fees and war rates exempted his Grants from bearing the same. At the same time, he warned the cultivators and village communities from claiming the *Bhāja* and *Bhoja*, i.e., share in produce and enjoyment of customary dues respectively, from his donees. The several gifts must have been registered in the Royal Treasury as there were Keepers of records and Accountants. Most of these records are in Sanskrit and the use of Telugu language and characters in several of them shows that, throughout the whole extent of the country mentioned above, the people knew Telugu also. From the remarkable fact that the kings and the people also worshipped God Siva in various forms, it is evident that, at the expense of Jainism and Buddhism, which formerly flourished in the Kalinga Empire, Saivite Faith spread from the 5th century onwards. The existence of Gokarna Swami on Mahendragiri, Vateswara and Vecreswara in Palur near Chatrapur, Madhukēśwara and Bhīmēśwara in Mukhalingam and other Gods in *linga* form and with suitable temples all over the country would suggest that Phallic worship, standing for creative energy or *Śukti*, was highly popular with the Eastern Ganga Kings and their contemporaries. In Kalinga as well as in Vengi, temples came to be built for Siva and large endowments made so that the revival of Brahmanical Hinduism became a settled fact.

Chapter V.

Devēndravarma Rāja Raja. A.D. 1069--1076.

Vajrahasta V. was succeeded by his son Devēndravarma Raja Rajadeva whose coronation took place in Ś. 992 (A.D. 1069). His rule lasted till Ś. 999 (A.D. 1076). when Chodaganga, his son, ascended the throne. From one of his own C. P. Grants⁶⁷ and from all the C. P. Grants of his son, Chodaganga, we learn that he gained a victory against the Tāmils (the Cholas) and married Rajasundari, the daughter of Chola Rajendra and also rescued Vijayaditya (the step-brother of RajaRajānarendra of Vengi) when he was about to be drowned in the Chola ocean and re-instated him in the Western Region. It would appear that Rajendrachola II. or *Ubhayakulottunga Chōlādēva* invaded Vengi to wrest it out of the hands of his paternal uncle, Vijayaditya VII. who usurped the throne of Vengi in 1063 A.D. soon after his step-brother's death and ruled over it till 1077 A.D. It was at this time, owing probably to the appeal made by Vijayaditya, that RajaRaja gave help to him and rescued him in a battle. A treaty must have been made as the result of which Vijayaditya was allowed to rule as the Viceroy of the Chola Emperor till his death in 1077 A.D. It is however, more probable that Vira Rājendra-deva, the Chola Emperor who ruled from A.D. 1063 to 1070 invaded Vengi and defeated Vijayaditya but finally restored him to the throne, owing to the intervention of Kalinga RājaRaja. As against the statement in his inscription, his marriage must have taken place *before this time* with the daughter of Rajendrachola I. There is some difference of opinion about this Rajendrachola. The late Mr. M. Chakravarti held⁶⁸ that the Chola king, whose daughter was Rajasundari, was Vira Rajendra-deva I (1052-70). The late Mr. R. D. Banerji held,⁶⁹ agreeing with the view of the late Professor Kielhorn, that the Chola king, whose daughter was Rajasundari, was really Rajendrachola II *alias* Kulottunga Chola I and he married his daughter to the Eastern Ganga king RājaRāja after being defeated by him. Mr. K. R. Subrahmanyam stated⁷⁰ that Vira Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1063-1070), after his second expedition to Vengi and before his fourth year, married his daughter Rajasundari to RājaRāja of Kalinga as a diplomatic move after his conquest of Vengi and Kalinga countries. Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao stated⁷¹ that RājaRāja was Kulottunga's (Rajendrachola II's) mother's sister's husband, i.e., he was son-in-law of Rajendrachola I. and that he gave help to Vijayaditya of Vengi when he

67. A. R. on S. I Ep. for 1918-19, C. P. No. 4.

68. J. As. S. Beng. Vol. LXXII, p. 108.

69. *History of Orissa* Vol. I, pp. 247-248.

70. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 199-200.

71. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, p. 121.

was attacked by Vira Rajendrachola. Dr. S. K. Iyengar stated⁷² that the Kalinga RājaRāja married a daughter of Rajendra as did the Eastern Chalukya RājaRāja of Vengi. The Visag C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated in Ś. 1057 refers to a Śaivite temple, named after RājaRāja, and called RajaRajēśwara temple, being built in Rengujed, a village in the Ganjam District. There is a stone inscription in Nileswara temple in Narayanapuram which states that an image of Aditya or Sun was set up there. This is the first instance of Surya (Sun) worship being done by Ganga kings. The Dirghasi stone inscription⁷³ dated in Ś 997 (A. D. 1075) which contains the first and the best specimen of Telugu poetry refers to *Banapati*, RajaRaja's Brahmin Minister, Commander, Chamberlain and Governor, who was the son of Gōkarṇa of Atreya gōtra and to his wife *Padmavati*. The Brahmin couple built, for the Goddess of Dughasi named Bhagavati or Kali, the *Mukhamandapa* (front pillared hall), *Prākāra* (surrounding wall of temple) and *Nāṭyaśala* (dancing hall). They also set up lamps to burn in perpetuity. The Brahmin Minister and Commander, Banapati or Vanapati did praiseworthy deeds by conquering Vengi, Kimidi, Kosala, Gidrisingi and Oddadesa and was therefore made a Governor. He also lived in the time of RajaRaja's son and successor, Anantavarma Chodaganga as attested by a grant of perpetual lamp made by him to God Bhimēśa in Drakshāramam in the East Godavari District in Ś. 1003 or A. D. 1080-81⁷⁴. On the occasion of *Uttarāṇṇa* and in the reign of Saivalōkāśraya Śri Vishnuvardhana, i.e., Rajendrachola II, son of Raja Raja Narendra of Vengi, Banapati, the minister of Tri-Kalingādhipati RajaRaja Deva and his wife Padmavati endowed God Bhimēśwara with a perpetual lamp and 50 she-buffalos for supplying ghee to the same. Inscription Nos. 1015 and 1016 in the same temple inform us that Anantavarma Chodaganga endowed a Choultry named after him in Peddadākiremi (modern Drakshāramam) in Guddavadinadu (modern Ramachandrapur Taluq) with rich gifts. Since the Dirghasi inscription states that Banapati conquered Vengi, and since RajaRaja and Anantavarma also claim victories over the Cholas when they invaded Vengi, we have to learn that, from this period, Vijayaditya became an ally of the Eastern Gangas. But it does not mean that he lost his control over Vengi and South Kalinga for, one of his C. P. Grants, actually discovered in the Vizag District⁷⁵ states that he gave 13 villages in Elamanchili-Kalingaśeśa as a gift to his commander. The presence of Eastern Ganga inscriptions in Drakshārama temple is due to such political and social relations that were commenced in the time of

72. Vide his article *Kalingadēśa* in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, No. 1. p. 8.

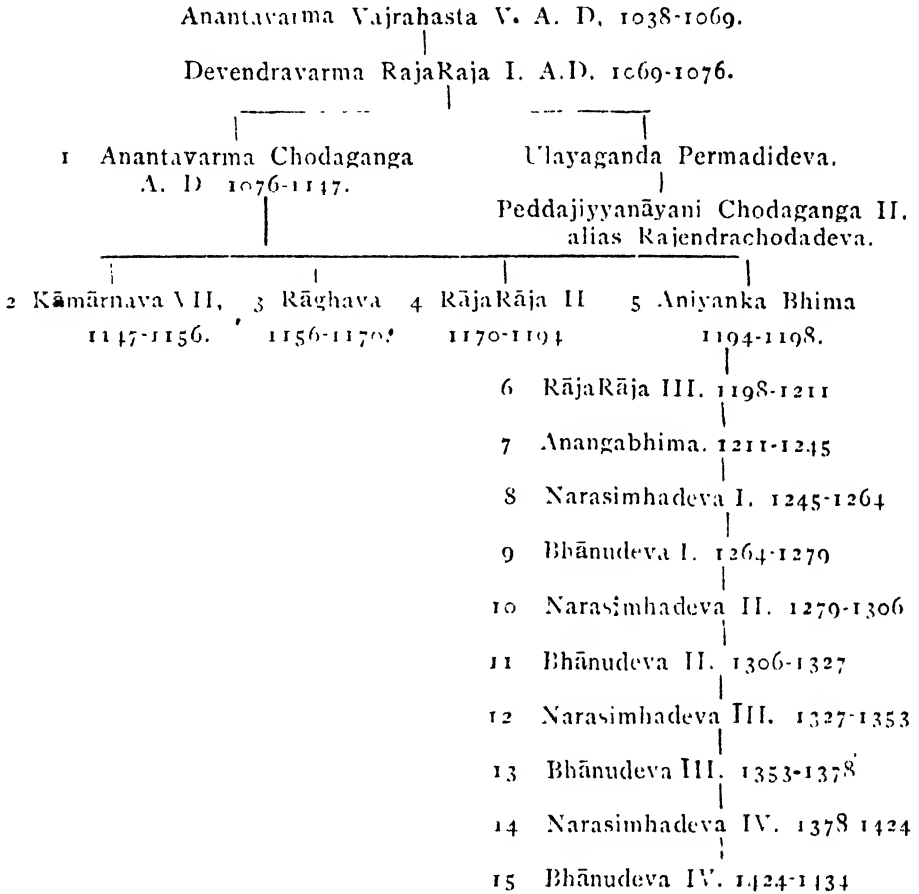
73. Ep. Indica, Vol. IV, p. 316-317.

74. S. I. Inscriptions Vol. IV, No. 1036.

75. Vide The Pamulavaka C. P. Grant of Vijayāditya VII in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 3 and 4, pp. 277-289.

Vijayaditya VII, who probably became a subordinate ally of the Eastern Gangas.

From the several Copper-Plate and Stone Inscriptions of Anantavarma Chodaganga and his descendants, particularly Narasimha II Bhanudeva II and Narasimha IV, and from the Oriya work *Māḍalā Pāñji*, we get the following Geneology and Chronology of the last kings of the Ganga Dynasty:-



1. Anantavarma Chodaganga Deva.

Ś. 999 (A.D. 1076) to Ś. 1070 (A.D. 1147).

After the death of Devendravarma—RajaRaja I, his son Chodagangadeva succeeded to the throne. Fuller details of his reign are now known to us from several different kinds of sources such as Copper

Plates⁷⁶ and Stone⁷⁷ Inscriptions, Gold coins⁷⁸ and Literature⁷⁹ in Oriya, Telugu, and Tamil

He ascended the throne when he was pretty young and ruled for 72 years. His own C.P. Grants and those of his successors (Narasimha II and Narasimha IV) inform us that he had several Sovereign titles like *Mahārāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *Paramabhaktāraka*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Paramaishnavya*, *Paramabrahmanya* and *Tri-Kalingādhipati*. From the stone inscriptions found in the temples of Draksharamam, Mukhalingam and Sree-kurmam, we learn that he had several wives. His Chief Queens, who could share with him in the coronation ceremony, were the Chola Mahādevi named Jayamgondar and Kasturikāmodini. It is the latter's son that finally succeeded the Emperor with the titles of Madhukāmārnavā or Kāmārnavā and Anantavarma. Another Queen was named Indira and her son Rāghava succeeded Kāmārnavā. Another wife was called Chandralekha and her two sons named RajaRaja and Aniyanka Bhima ruled after Rāghava. Another Queen named Vennavadevi had a son called Atṭahāsadeva who does not appear to have ruled over the kingdom. Similarly, another son named Umāvallabha also does not seem to have succeeded to the realm. Anantavarma Chodaganga had a brother named Ulagiyamvanda Permādeva and his wife was named Pallayamahādevi and the son born to them was called Peddajivvanāyani Chodaganga. He appears to have had the title of *Mahāmandalika* suggesting thereby that he was in charge of a Province. From the inscriptions found in the temple of Nārāyanapuram, we learn that Anantavarma Chodaganga's brother who was called Ulayaganda Permādi and his son Rajendrachodadeva were both employed as Provincial Governors during the period A. D. 1132 to 1139. Several inscriptions of Anantavarma's generals, commanders and ministers are also found in the same temple. The Chief Minister of the Emperor seems to be Pinnayabhatta, a learned Brahmin. His Foreign Secretary was Sommula Rechana. His military commanders were Allanaśarma Chāmūpati, Eradora Chemūpati, and Binapati, who was also the commander and minister of his father RajaRaja. It is gratifying to note that these

76. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 40-43 and 106-121.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-165 and 165-172 and 172-176.

J. As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. LXV, Pt. I pp. 229-273 and Vol. LXIV, Pt. I, pp. 128-155. Also A. R. of S. I. Ep. for 1918-19, C. P. No. 9.

77. S. I. Inscriptions Vols. IV, V and VI, Draksharamam, Mukhalingam, Sreekurmam, Mahendragiri and Simhachellam Temple Inscriptions. Also, A. R. on Arch. Survey of India for 1911-12, pp. 171-176.

78. Vide my article *The Kalinga Ganga and Kadanba Gold coins* in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V, pp. 249-250. Also, Ind. Ant. vol. XXV, pp. 317-22.

79. *Mādala Pāñji*, *Kalingadhīparāṇi* and the Telugu Inscriptions in S. I. Inscriptions Vols. IV, V and VI.

Brahmins distinguished themselves in those days not only as 'ministers and spiritual advisers but also as military commanders. Most of the grants or gifts were made either through the *Puravari* (Head of the city) or the *Ganaka* (Accountant) or the *Karanam* (Village clerk).

The names of the kings, queens and royal relatives suggest that Chola influence was at its height during this period in Kalingadesa. This led Dr. Muzumdar to think that the Eastern Ganga language, and alphabet was Tamil but this view is wrong. The Eastern Chalukyas like the Eastern Gangas had matrimonial connections with the Cholas and other southern dynasties and named their princes after the Chola Sovereigns. The Eastern Chalukyas supported at first the Kannada language but later on patronised Andhra (Telugu) language and literature. Similarly, the Eastern Gangas used the Telugu language and literature until, after the conquest of Utkala, coming under the influence of the Oriyas, they patronised the Oriya language and literature. However, they continued to publish their Grants in all the temples of Kalinga Proper and Southern Kalinga (Modern Ganjam and Visag Districts respectively) in Telugu language, occasionally using Oriya for a few inscriptions. The statement of Dr. Muzumdar that *Mādalā Pāñji* was at first probably written in Tamil and then translated into Oriya lacks authority. The few Tamil Inscriptions found on Mahendragiri and in the Simhachellam and Mukhalingam Temples are due to the visits of conquest paid by Chola kings or their commanders to those places. We have, however, no difficulty in accepting the view that the style of construction of the Temples in both Vengi and Kalinga countries was due to the influence of the Cholas. It is only after the conquest of Utkala that the use of the Oriya language spread in that country and the construction of Temples also became Oriya in style.

The kings of this Last Ganga Dynasty expressly state, in their inscriptions, that they belong to the *Atrēya gotra* and the Lunar *Vamśa*. They are regarded by some as Kshatriyas and their marriage connections with the Cholas, Chalukyas, Pallavas, Vaidyambas and Haihayas lend colour to this view. They trace their descent from some of the Kshatriya Heroes of the Mahābhārata war, but it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as pure kshatriyas of the old type. While Dr. B. C. Muzumdar thinks that the Later Gangas were Tamils, some scholars think that they were Oriyas. The truth, as culled out from their inscriptions, seems to be that they were, till the middle of the 12th century, Andhra in language and civilisation. From the middle of the 12th century, coming under Chola influence, they took up Chola titles and built temples after the Chola style. But, from after the conquest of Utkala in or about A. D. 1132, they imbibed Oriya traditions and gradually became Oriya in language and traditions and also changed their faith from Saivism to Vaishnavism.

Anantavarma Chodaganga was crowned in A. D. 1076, in Kalingagangara or modern Mukhalingam in Parlakinfidi Taluq. From his own C. P. Grants and those of Natasimha II and Narasimha IV, we learn that his Empire extended to R. Godavari in the south, the city of Midhunapura or Midnapur in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Eastern Ghats in the west. In his youth, he learnt Vedas and Śāstras and all kinds of fine Arts and excelled in warlike deeds by conquering the Utkala and Vengi kings and obtaining tribute from them. Being closely related to the Chola Emperor Rajendra Chola II. or Kulottunga, he received help from him. During his reign, there was frequent intercourse between the Chola and the Ganga countries as evidenced by the several grants of the Chola Princes and Princesses which were recorded in the Drākshārāmam and Mukhalingam Temples. For instance, in 1082 A. D., the son of Kulottunga Chola Deva by name Vira Choda Deva, who was then acting as the Viceroy of Vengi, visited Mukhalingam and granted 8 *Puṭṭis* of land (64 acres) towards the worship and offerings, of God Madhukēśwara.⁸⁰ Similarly, the wife of Chodaganga by name Choda Mahādevi granted, towards the gift of a lamp to God Bhimēśa of Draksharama, some Kulottunga *Mudas* (coins)⁸¹. The younger brother of Anantavarma Chodaganga by name Ulaguyyavamda Permadi and his wife Pallava Mahādevi and their son Peddajiyyanāyani Chodaganga made certain gifts to the same God.⁸² In the 11th regnal year of Kulottunga, Chodaganga and his son and wife sent certain gifts through Gangagonda Chodaganga Vairagi Yamdari.⁸³ The names of some more wives of Anantavarma Chodaganga are also mentioned in the inscriptions and their names are Rājuladevi,⁸⁴ Padmaladevi⁸⁵, Paṭṭamahādevi Jayamgonda chodiyam,⁸⁶ Sriyādevi,⁸⁷ Līlāvatidevi,⁸⁸ Kalyānadevi,⁸⁹ Dennamahādevi.⁹⁰ The last Princess is mentioned as the second wife of the Emperor and her son is named Aṭṭahāsadeva. He does not seem to have succeeded to the throne. From the Emperor's Visag C. P. Grant dated Ś. 1040, we learn that he conquered Vengi and Utkala countries. Probably that accounts for the fact that he and his family visited God Bhimeswara of Drākshārāmam in the East Godavari Dt. in A.D. 1128. His Empire must have extended from the R. Ganges to the R. Godavari by that time. An inscription of the Emperor found in the Temple at Srī-Kūrmam⁹¹ expressly states that the Emperor Chodaganga, having sub,

80 S. I. Inscriptions Vol V, Mukhalingam Temple Inscr. No. 1005.

81 S. I. Inscr., Vol IV. Drākshārāmam Temple Insc. No. 1052.

82 Ibid. No. 1186. 83 Ibid No. 1190. 84 No. 1191. 85 No. 1192. 86 No. 1194.

87 No. 1195. 88 No. 1196. 89 No. 1198. 90 No. 1199.

91 S. I. Inscr. Vol V, No. 1385.

duced Western, Northern and Eastern countries satisfied *Dēvas*,⁹² *Ṛṣis*, *Pitrus* and *Bṛāhmaṇas* with rich gifts.

Though the Copper-Plate inscriptions of Chodaganga would lead us to believe that that king's coronation ceremony took place in Ś. 999, his Mukhalingam stone inscriptions indicate that he succeeded to the throne in Ś. 997 only. The delay of two years in getting himself crowned was due to the fact that his father RajaRaja was still alive. Probably, in the closing years of his reign, RajaRaja made his elder son his co-ruler to acquaint him with the art of government. RajaRaja had a younger son, named Ulgiamvanda Peramadideva, who was appointed as a Provincial Governor by Anantavarma Chodaganga. The two brothers seem to have been on very friendly terms.⁹³ The Mukhalingam inscription No. 1018 states that Śaka year 1072 is equal to Chodaganga's 75th regnal year and this suggests that the statement contained in his C. P. Grants that he ruled for 70 years is not quite correct. Probably, it can be explained in the sense that though he was the *dejure* ruler for 75 years as stated in his stone inscription, he laid down his office on account of his old age in his 70th regnal year only as stated in his C.P. grants. This receives confirmation from the two facts viz., that his son's (Kamarnava's) coronation took place in Ś. 1064 only and that his actual rule began in Ś. 1068.⁹⁴

Anantavarma Chodaganga had several names. Thus, Chālukya Gaṅga, Vikrama Gaṅgēśwara, Vira Rājendra Chōḍagaṅga and Gangeśwara-dēvabhūpa are all found in the stone inscriptions. He had also several titles as indicated in his copper-plate and stone inscriptions and one of them *Paramavaishnava* is note-worthy. Till his reign, all the Eastern Ganga Kings were Saivites but he made a significant departure by professing to belong to the cult of Vishnu also. Probably this change was due to his coming into contact with Utkaladesa which he conquered in, or about A. D. 1132. It was about this period also that Temples for Vishnu came to be built in Mukhalingam, Srikurmam and Simhachellam. In 1135, he changed his capital to Cuttack, where also he built lofty temples.

(To be continued.)

92. S. I. Inscriptions Vol. V, Nos. 1015, and 1019.

93. Vide the Puri and Kendupatna C. P. Grants of Narasimhadeva.

Also, Srikurmam Inscription Nos. 1825 and 1332 in S.I. Inscriptions Vol. V.

REVIEWS.

HINDUVULA PANDUGALU.

BY MR. S. PRATAPA REDDI, B.A., B.L.

The author covers a new ground in this work. Books on the traditional and ritualistic aspects of Hinduism are rare and this work is thus a welcome addition to the Telugu literature. In a short Preface Dr. Radhakrishnan lays down that festivities are valuable only in so far as they afford a recreation from the daily worries of our life and tend to promote social intercourse. In the same breath, the learned Doctor asserts that most of these festivities are condemnable and pities the lot of those that are unable to get out of their grip. A general disregard for these, is, according to him, a hall-mark of an educated man. A strange compliment and in a mystic strain! The author professes that his book is mainly intended for those that are ignorant of the significance of the Hindu festivities. He gives many different versions of the origin of each observance, as found in many standard works and criticises them with a shrewd mind. The book gives very interesting information about sixty Hindu festivals. Though one may not agree with all the views of Mr. Reddi,—and the orthodox section would certainly dub him a heretic,—one cannot help appreciating his powerful style and lucid argument which make him a successful popular writer. Sometimes the author's commentaries are really brilliant and bring out clearly the relationship between tradition and past history. The book contains fine illustrations and those of Vāmana and Bhīshma are specially valuable.

M. RAMA RAO.

ANTARJĀTĪYA DHARMA ŚĀSTRAMU

BY MR. VALLURI SURYANARAYANA RAO, B.A., B.L., L.T.

The Telugu language is just beginning to enrich its literature from various new and foreign sources. Treatises on Political science are rare in this language—especially those on western lines. Though stray articles on modern politics appear here and there in journals and newspapers, no connected attempt has yet been made. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao's book removes this want. The author has chosen a really complicated theme and has executed his work with remarkable success. His terminology is well-suited and his style impressive and easy—going. The book gives very valuable information and is bound to enlighten everybody. It would have been better if the section on the "League of Nations" gave some more details and sketched the history of the League, from its inception.

M. RAMA RAO.

THE KADAMBA KULA :—A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka by George M. Moraes, M.A., with a Preface by Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Published by B. N. Furtado and Sons, Bombay.

This is a Thesis which was submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. Degree and awarded the Chancellor's Medal.

The Title of the book is a little embarrassing as the Kadamba Dynasty alone cannot be said to have ruled over the entire Kuntaladesa in the Ancient or Medieval period. But the work is of greatest value and, as pointed out by the late Dr. V. A. Smith, the History of South India is to be worked out by several South Indian Scholars engaged in studying the fortunes of the several dynasties that ruled over the different parts in different times. After the fall of the Imperial Andhras and before the rise of the Pallavas, the Kadambas played an independent part and their later history is full of importance to culture and commerce. Sculpture and architecture were well fostered by the kings. Mr Moraes has done a great national service by writing this history of Kuntaladesa from the 4th to the 14th century A. D. He has divided his work into 8 different parts and each part into two or more chapters. In the first part, he gives the Pre-kadamba history of Kuntala and the origin of the Kadambas. We cannot agree with his view regarding the origin, for, like the Pallavas, E. Kadambas, E. Gangas and Chalukyas, these W. Kadambas also migrated from their original home in the North of India to the South. In the second part, the author gives the history of the Early Kadamba kings from Mayurasharma to Madhuvarma with their chronology. In part III, he gives an account of Banavasi under the Chalukyas and Rashtrakuta. In parts IV, V and VI, he describes the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, Goa and of several places including Kalinga. Part VII is of particular interest even to the general reader, as it describes the religion, administration, social life, culture and architecture of the period. Part VIII gives Kadamba Geography with a lengthy Lexicon of ancient places. In the appendix are given some important unpublished inscriptions with plates. The several illustrations and maps really enhance the value of the work and we congratulate the author for the original work he produced and the publishers for the neat get-up.

R. SUBBA RAO.

HISTORY OF ORISSA.

BY THE LATE R. D. BENERJI, M.A.

Vol. I. Published R. Chatterjee, Calcutta and priced Rs. 20.

We review the work with 'mingled feelings' because its learned author did not live to see it out. Though it contains much new and original information about the ancient history of Kalinga, it suffers from

several serious defects, which, we hope, will be removed in the next edition. The numerous monochrome plates printed almost entirely relate to the sculptures at Udayagiri and Khandagiri, as if they alone represent the whole of Kalinga art. In the first chapter on "Topography" the author indulges in impossibilities. His views that the districts North of the Godavary Delta were originally Oriya-speaking (p. 1) and that the Andhra country originally lay to the South of the Godavary, and that the Telugu language has now crept up northwards (p. 3) are wrong. The author's ignorance of C.P. inscriptions ranging from the 6th century A.D. and stone inscriptions from the 10th century, written in the Telugu script and Telugu language, resp. is really pitiable. We cannot agree with the author's statement in Ch. V, that Kalinga remained unconquered till the time of Asoka. In Ch. VI dealing with Kharavela, the author is at his best, though his estimate of Kharavela's empire (cf map on p. 73) and the identification of Mushika with Muzuris, are not correct. The remarks in Ch. VII entitled "The Overseas Empire" that Kalinga is the ancient name of the Telugu country and the Telangs of Burma derived their name from TriKalinga, are curious. The author could have easily filled up the gap from the fall of the Kharavela dynasty to the rise of the Sailōdhavas (Ch. VIII) from the various C. P. Grants of the Salankayana, Vishnukundin, E. Ganga and E. Chalukyan dynasties, instead of recounting the contents of the Mādālā Pāñji. The reader might here refer to the "Kalingadēsa Charitram" published by the A. H. R. Society. Strange to say, the author discredits Samudragupta's conquest of Kalinga too. Ch. IX. betrays many pitfalls. The author's neglect of the Ganga Era alongside of the Vallabhi and Harsha Eras is remarkable while his view that Orissa was not included in the Empire of Harsha is wrong. The author's views regarding the location of the capital of Kalinga (Ch. X) are vague and indefinite. His view that the Gangeya Era starts from 778 A. D. (Ch. XI) is baseless. The dates of several inscriptions on pp. 227-230 are wrong. The history of the Eastern Gangas is quite slippery and incomplete.

The book betrays total ignorance of the numerous Telugu and Oriya inscriptions published in the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions and the Journal of the A. H. R. S. No History of Orissa can be complete without a study of these records. It is hoped that the work will soon be revised and made more up to date, in the light of these remarks.

R. SUBBA RAO.

THE KAKATIYA CONFERENCE HELD AT WARANGAL.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The following constitute the Proceedings of the Public Meetings held in the Osmania College Hall, on 25th, 26th and 27th April 1932. Among those present, the prominent were the following gentlemen:—

Messrs. Darabjee Bapoojee Chinoy, Subedar of Warangal, Mahammad Abdul Basit Khan, First Taluqdar of Warangal, Ex-justice Keshavarao, High Court Vakil, Sreenivasarao Sarma, Bar-at-law, Dharmaveer Vaman Naik, Jageerdar, Pingle Venkataramareddy, Deshmukh and Honorary Sessions Judge, K. S. Vaidya M.A. LL.B., Sirdar Niranjan Singh, D.S.P. Warangal, Govindrao Tahsildar, Abdul Aziz Khan B.A. Principal, Osmania College, Warangal, A. Venkataramanaih M.A., L.T., Superintendent, Government Normal School, Warangal, K. Sreeramarao, High Court Vakil, K. Sundararao, High Court Vakil, Mohammad Abdul Azeez, A. Gopalarao and A. Ramachendrarao, Professors of the Warangal College, Professor T. Venkataratnam M.A. of the Guntur College, A. Srinivasarao, M.A., M. Ramarao B.A. (HONS) M.K.A.S., Mr. Joshi of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, M. Hanumantharao and S. Pratapreddy B.A., B.L., High Court Vakils, Hyderabad, Akarepu Chenniah, Komeravelly Kasiah, Dr. C. Narayanarao M.A., L.T., Ph.D., B. V. Krishnarao B.A., B.L., A. Bapiraju B.A., Seshadri Ramana Kavulu, M. Ramakotiswara Rao and Members of the Reception Committee.

The Delegates and Visitors, led by the Presidents, started in a procession from the adjoining College Hostel to the College Hall. Before the commencement of the Meeting, Prayer in Sanskrit was conducted by Mr. M. Ramakoteswararao, those assembled standing. Then, the Honorary Secretary of the Society made the following Opening address:—

Opening Address of Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Honorary Secretary of the A. H. R. Society, Rajahmundry.

Gentlemen,

Just ten years back, in 1922, Messrs, C. Veerabhadrarao, M. S. Sarma, B. V. Krishnarao B.A., B.L., and C. Narayanarao, M.A., L.T. started this Society at Rajahmundry and published in the same year a Telugu work called *Rāja Rāja Paṭṭābhishēka Sanchikā*, containing learned articles written by several scholars on different topics relating to the

history of the Eastern Chalukyas—a branch of the Western Chalukyas of Badami—who settled in the Vengi country, in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This commemoration volume was published under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as a result of the Celebration of the Ninth Centenary of Raja Raja Narendra at Rajahmundry by the Society in 1922.

In 1924, when I was transferred to the Govt. Arts College Rajahmundry as Lecturer in History, the Society elected me as its Hon. Secretary and ever since, I have been holding that office. Since 1926, the Society has been publishing a Quarterly Journal in English and so far 22 parts have been published. Several Zamindars and learned people have donated or subscribed to the realisation of this important object of the Society and our best thanks are due to them.

In June 1927, the Society celebrated the “Kalinga Day” at Mukhalingam under the kind patronage of the Zamindars of Parlakimidi and Khallikota, and Messrs Sir A. P. Patro, and Sri Raja Vikramadeva Varma and other liberal-minded gentlemen and published a Commemoration volume—the second of the kind in Telugu—called *Kalingadeśa Charitra* under my editorship in 1931.

The Society has now resolved to hold the Kakatiya celebration here at Warangal and to publish a Commemoration volume in Telugu—the third of its kind—called *Kākatiya Sanchika* under the editorship of my old pupil and friend Mr. M. Rama Rao, B.A., (Hons)

The Society fixed upon this centre for this celebration for several reasons, the chief among which may be stated thus :—

Firstly, Warangal was the capital of the Kakatiyas and naturally the commemoration of the event should be celebrated here only.

Secondly, in attempting to write a commemoration volume, the scholars must have a chance to see the ancient capitals, their ancient forts and walls, temples and their architecture and other valuable antiquities, by going on excursive tours to the several places.

Thirdly, in holding the Historical Exhibition here which is a necessary accompaniment of the event, the Society hopes to draw upon the resources of this State. H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department, the Reddi Boarding House, Sree Krishnadevaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam and the Lakshmanarayana, Parisodhaka Mandali, all of Hyderabad and the several local organisations of Hanumakonda, Mattevada and Warangal are all expected to partake in the Exhibition and bring the original inscriptions or their estampages, Palmyrah leaf manuscripts, coins and other historical material lying with them so that the educative value of the exhibition may be enhanced.

Gentlemen, H. E. H. Nizam's State has been the home of several dynasties which rose and perished here and it is the earnest duty of the historian to study the past to know what it can teach to adjust the future. Here flourished the ancient Andhra, Vakataka, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Kakatiya Dynasties, to name only the chief and important. We are now concerned with the study of the Kakatiyas whose history is linked closely with that of the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyan. Most of the temples belong to the Chalukyan style and we have the finest specimens of this class in the temples of Hanumakonda, Warangal, Kollipaka, Palampet and Itagi and the beautiful carvings and sculptures are really life-like. The several inscriptions found in these and other temples have to be collected and published before the history of the dynasties can be said to be completely written. It is with the object of doing that work we arranged the meeting here and we depend upon the local officers and scholars as well as Zamindars for the necessary help.

Gentlemen, I may be permitted in conclusion to narrate the circumstances under which we are assembling here today. Our Society, soon after the celebration of the Raja Raja Day, resolved to celebrate the Kakatiya Day but owing to other influences gave up the idea and celebrated the Kalinga Day and published the Kalinga Volume. Then, again the old idea was taken up and myself and my friend Mr. M. Rama Rao were deputed by the Society to see the several officers of H. E. H. the Nizam's State and the learned scholars sympathisers here with a view to obtain their support for the successful celebration of the event. Thanks to my friend Mr. Khursheed Ali, Director of the Dewani Datter, Hyderabad, we were able to interview the Dy. Home Secretary who kindly suggested certain conditions subject to which the sanction will be given. On our complying with them, we got the sanction. In this connection, it is my duty to express, on behalf of the Society, our grateful thanks to the Government of this State for not only giving the sanction to hold the meetings here but also for requesting the College authorities here to place the College and Hostel buildings at our disposal and for instructing the Archaeological Department to partake in the Exhibition arranged by us here.

Gentlemen I must also express my thanks to Messrs. Raja Bahadur Kotval Venkatrama Reddi Garu, O. B. E., for his kind and keen interest and active help, Pingle Venkatrama Reddi Garu for kindly consenting to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dharmavir Waman Naik Jagirdar for kindly consenting to open the Historical Exhibition, Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao for kindly consenting to preside on this occasion, Vakils M. Hanumantha Rao and S. Pratapreddi for helping me with their advice throughout and last but not least in importance, M. Ramakotiswara Rao and his local friends who formed the Reception Committee.

and who are mainly responsible for all arrangements here. I must not also omit to mention the help I am receiving at the hands of the Subedar Saheb and the First Taluqdar Saheb and other local officials. I now request the Chairman of the Reception Committee to read his address.

**Address of Mr. Pingle Venkata Rama Reddi, Desmukh, and President
Reception Committee of the Kakatiya Conference, Warangal.**

Gentlemen,

I believe that I am extremely fortunate in having the honour of inviting you all cordially to this historic place for the celebration of this Historical Conference in commemoration of the great Kakatiyas under whose paternal care these parts have enjoyed widespread reputation. I wish to place before you the objects of this assemblage and a few facts about the Kakatiyas that are within my knowledge.

The Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry have already celebrated the Chalukya Day and the Ganga Day and brought out the Raja Raja Narendra Sanchika and the Kalinga Sanchika. As a result of this Kakatiya Conference, the Kakatiya Sanchika will also be shortly published by them. This will surely bring to light the ancient glories of the Empire of Warangal and the contemporary social and literary life of the Andhras and will serve as a beacon light for the reconstruction of our future.

It is of great significance, that this Conference should be held here. Some years ago, the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao has told us that buried in these parts is quite a wealth of historical material bearing on the ancient glory of the Andhra nation. As of other dynasties, this part of the Dominions abounds in numerous inscriptions of the Kakatiyas that are already partly destroyed or are fastly sharing that fate. Every village contains bundles of palm leaf manuscripts and every mound is capable of yielding hordes of ancient coins.

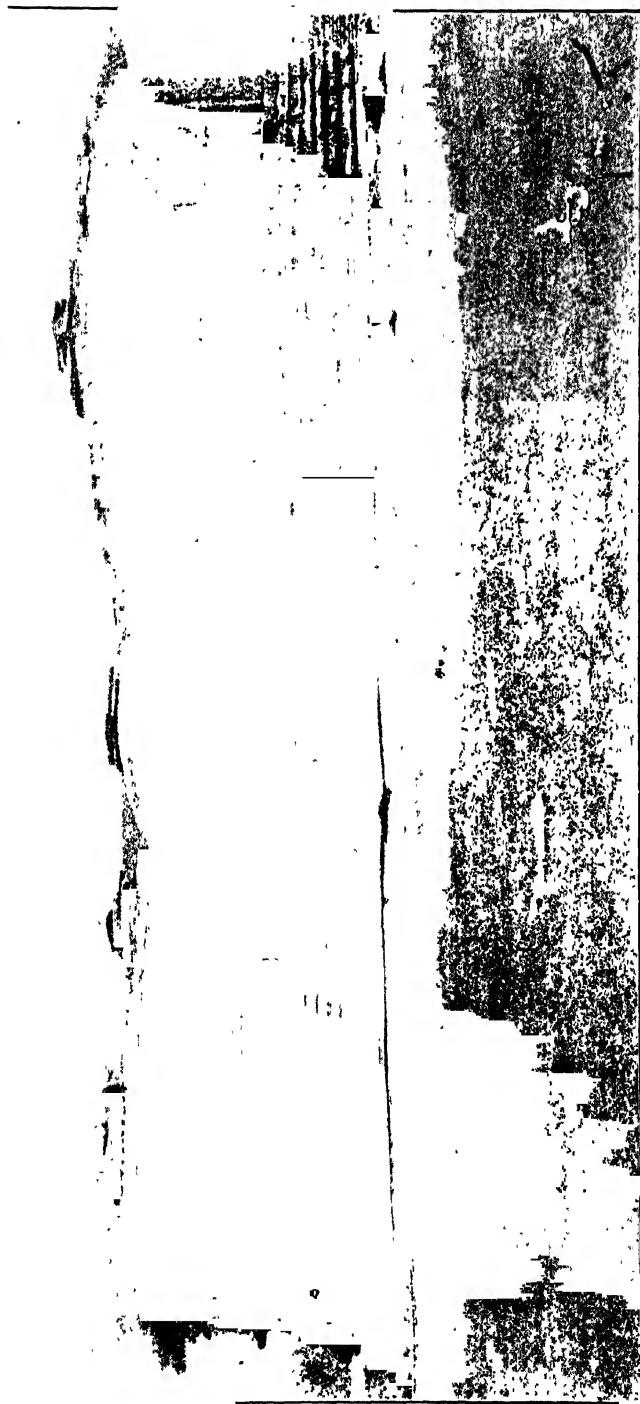
Those of you that have perused the inscriptions acquired by our Archaeological Department and edited for them by scholars at Madras, do know many facts about the Kakatiyas. The history of this dynasty has been recently reconstructed from literature, inscriptions and the local Records. From Hanumakonda and Warangal the fame and name of the Andhras spread far and wide and their artistic and political genius was known everywhere. All this neighbourhood is of historic importance. Scholars have discussed to some extent whether the Kakatiyas were Reddis or Kammas, though the problem has not yet been solved. In my opinion, both the Velamas and the Kammas branched off from an original Reddi community and the mutual jealousies of these peoples arising out of differences in customs, habitat and politics ultimately brought in the ruin of the great Kakatiya Empire. The Kakatiyas must have belonged to the community of the Mōtāti Reddis, the ancestors

of those that are now living in the Mattevāda Sima. According to the 'Pratapa Charitram' an old traditional work, the Kakatiyas ruled for about a thousand years, though this is not borne out by other sources.

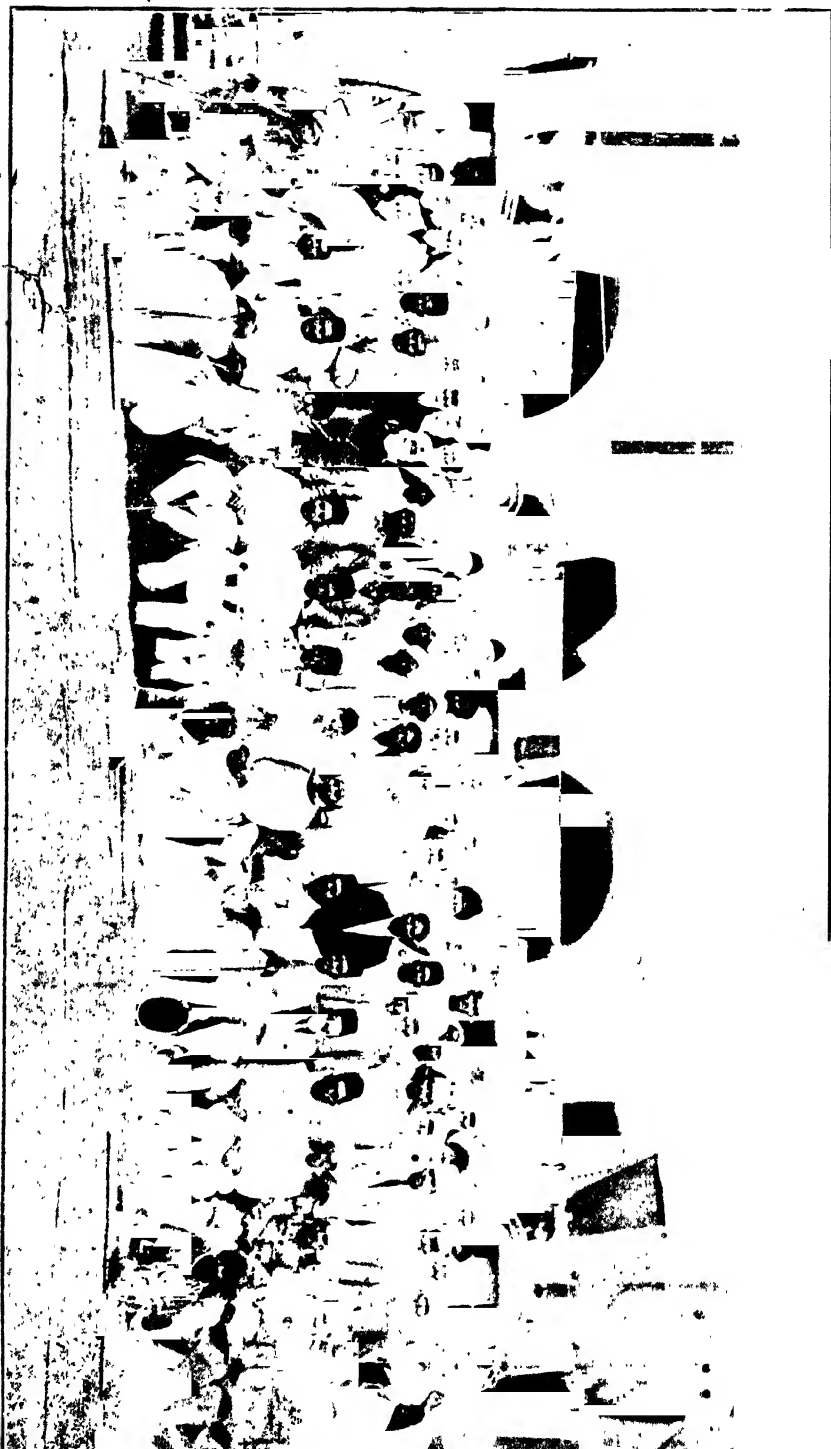
Prola is the earliest known king of this dynasty. By the time of Rudradeva, the empire extended up to the Sea in the East, Kalyan in the West, Malaya hills in the North and Srisailam in the South while Prataparudra extended it up to Kanchi in the South and Devagiri in the North. The Kakatiyas who rose to fame on the ashes of the Chalukyas, gave a new orientation to Andhra genius. The wealth of this nation was a subject of common talk in foreign markets while its artistic, literary and political capacities struck the admiration of one and all. Kakati is a Jaina goddess and the Kakatiyas who worshipped her are said to be jains by faith. At any rate that seems to have been the case up to Prola. After him the monarchs of this line patronized Saivism. Kakatiya sculpture, as exhibited in the famous temples of Hanumakonda, Warangal, Ramappa and Pillalamarri, indicates the contemporary excellence of fine arts. Rudra shifted the capital to Warangal and patronized many learned men. King Ganapati was a great and pious ruler. The great lakes of Pakhala, Ramappa, Ganapur and Lakkavaram were constructed in his reign. ViraSaiva literature received much patronage at his hands. He tutored his only daughter Rudramba in the intricacies of state-craft and made her the sovereign of the vast empire after him. Rudramba is a unique figure in several respects. If it were an enemy harassing the country, she was there in person to repel him; if it were a matter worrying the brains of her ministers, she was there in time to solve the problem in a nice manner. She had a kind word for everyone of her subjects, be he feudatory, scholar or a humble citizen. This famous queen is reputed to have visited Vaddepalli, my birth place, along with her daughter, to worship Ganapati there. Pratapa Rudra was the last of the Kakatiyas. The work "Prataparudriya" gives us a good account of this monarch's rule.

The history of Warangal is now being sung by the prolific musicians of the lower classes. Accounts are also found in literature and the local Records. It is very necessary to bring out an authentic history, with the help of these and other sources. I hope that this will soon be realised in the Kakatiya Sanchika to be shortly published by the A. H. R. Society. The Epigraphical Department of Madras, the Hyderabad Archaeological Dept. and the Lakshmanaraya Parisōdhaka Mandali are all bringing to light several records of the Kakatiyas.

My thanks are due in the first place to Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., the Secretary of the A.H.R.S. who was responsible for the celebration of this Conference here and for obtaining the necessary permission from H.E.H. the Nizam's Govt. Our thanks are also due to the various scholars who have prepared valuable papers for this occasion. Professor S. Hanumantha Rao of the Nizam College has kindly consented to preside over this Conference, at our request. Scholars of his type are rare in these dominions. Thanking you all once more for having assembled here on this momentous occasion, I request the learned professor to kindly occupy the presidential chair.



Thousand-pillared Temple of Hanumakonda.



The Delegates and Members of the Kakatiya Conference held at Warangal in April 1932.

**Presidential Address of Professor S. Hanumanta Rao M.A. of H E.H.
The Nizam's College, Hyderabad.**

GENTLEMEN,

My first duty is to thank the Andhra Historical Research Society for the great honour they have done me in asking me to preside over their Conference that is being held in this ancient city of Warangal. I am conscious of the fact, that there are in this gathering, distinguished scholars of Andhra history and literature, who would have done better justice to this office than myself. I take it that the reason, for electing me to this responsible office, is just to establish a link between the work, that the Andhra Historical Research Society is carrying on at Rajahmundry and similar work that some of us are carrying on, though on a much smaller scale, in H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions. You will, therefore, bear with me if I devote the main portion of my address, to indicate the work that is being carried out by the Government and the people of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, in the various departments of Historical Research.

Research into the indigenous sources of Indian history is of comparatively recent origin. It is only after the reforms of Lord Curzon, that the Government of India have thoroughly reorganised the Archaeological Department. It is only during the last fifteen years that the Universities have begun to provide facilities for research in Indian History and to utilise the material provided by the Archaeological Department for the reconstruction of ancient and medieval Indian history. The Government of the Indian States have followed the example of the Government of India and have created their own departments of Archaeology.

It was in the year 1914 that H. E. H. The Nizam was graciously pleased to create the Archaeological Department, with Mr. Yazdani as Director. Before 1914, the antiquities of the State were under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Archaeological Surveyor. The names of Fergusson, Burgess, Griffith and Lady Herringham should be remembered as the pioneers of Deccan archaeology. A detailed account of the antiquities of the Nizam's Dominions is to be found in two valuable books, the Bombay Gazetteer published in 1884 and the Historical and Descriptive sketch of the Nizam's Dominions by the Late Nawab Syed Hussain Bilgrami Imad-ul-mulk Bahadur and Wilmot. Mr. Consens, who was the Government of India Archaeological Surveyor at Bombay prepared a list of antiquities in the Dominions and is also the author of two valuable books on Bijapur architecture. Mention must also be made of Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, who wrote a small monograph on some of the Telugu inscriptions of the Dominions.

The beginning of the Twentieth century inaugurates the epoch of Renaissance in Hyderabad and one of the signs of this new age, is the creation of the Archaeological Department. The Nizam's Dominions are full of antiquities representing the primitive culture of Neolithic man and the more advanced culture and civilization of several historic dynasties in the different epochs of history.

Pre-historic graves known technically as cairns and cromlechs lie scattered all over the Dominions, especially in the Telingana. The cairns at Raigir in the Nalgonda District, at Janampet in the Poloncha Taluq, in the Warangal District and at Maula Ali, a few miles from the city of Hyderabad have been carefully examined. The pottery found in those graves bears close resemblance to the Adaichanallur pottery in the Madras Museum. The Nizam's Dominions contain several aboriginal tribes, like the Gonds, the Koyas, the Kurumbas and the Banjavas who represent the survivals of neolithic culture. The enthusiastic secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Mr. R. Subba Rao has made several contributions on the subject of some of these aboriginal tribes. There is great scope for work in this direction in the interior of the State.

Let us pass on to the historic period and look at the contributions of the Deccan to historical knowledge and to civilisation and culture during the three centuries that preceded and the three centuries that followed the Christian era. The discovery of the Asokan edict at Maski in the Raichur Dt. is of great importance, in establishing the theory of the Mauryan invasion of the Deccan. Asoka's edicts were known only by the mention of his titles Devanam Piya and Piya Darsi but this edict mentions Asoka by name. More recently, near Koppal about 21 miles west of the ruins of Hampi, on the frontier of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, two more edicts of Asoka have been discovered and are in course of publication by H. E. H. The Nizam's Archaeological Department. These together with the recent discoveries near Gooty strengthen the theory of the Mauryan invasion of the Deccan.

The two important cities of the Andhra Satavahanas, Paithan and Tagara are situated in the Nizam's Dominions. Paithan has been selected by the Department, as the first centre for excavation. The greatest legacy of this dynasty to the culture of India--nay even to the culture of the world—is all that is represented by the word—Ajanta. The architecture, sculpture and painting of Ajanta are unique. Until the period of the Italian Renaissance, there were none comparable with the paintings of Ajanta in any part of the world. The caves of Ajanta are 29 in number. Some of them belong to a period later than that of the Andhras—that of the Vaktakas and the Early Chalukyas. The first cave is considered as the finest Vihara, among the rock-hewn temples of India and has obtained world-wide recognition. Quite recently, an album of 50

paintings of this Vihara, including the majestic painting of the Bodhisatva Padma pani, has been published by the Archaeological Department, with a very learned and interesting explanatory text by Mr Yazdani. Twelve hundred years ago royal princes and pious pilgrims travelled long distances from different parts of the Buddhist world to visit these centres of worship and academies of culture and scholarship. For some time these Universities sank into oblivion. Once again they are now attracting the admiration of the whole world and may I take the liberty to suggest that the next Conference of your Society may well be celebrated in one of the Vihara caves at Ajanta.

The Rashtrakuta interrugnum which separates the history of the Early Chalukyas from that of the later Western Chalukyas, has also a great contribution to make to the cultural history of the Dekkan. The caves of Ellora extend over a much larger area than those of Ajanta and represent the coexistence of the three great religions of the period, Buddhism, Jainism and Saivite Hinduism. The sculptures of Ellora are magnificent in their size and the great temple of Kailasa, hewn out of a single rock is one of the great wonders of the world. Fresco paintings have also been discovered at Ellora—of a type much inferior to those at Ajanta.

The iconography of Northern Indian Buddhism and South Indian Brahminism has received considerable attention in recent times, through the works of the late Gopinatha Rao, who was a pioneer in the subject, Bhattacharya, Krishna Sastri, Gangoli and Aravamuthan. A monograph on the iconography of the Ellora caves will be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of early Saiva iconography.

The capital of the Rashtrakutas, Malkhed, is in the Nizam's Dominions and is worthy of excavation. One of the inscriptional records of the later Chalukyans indicates that Bodhan, now a village (Indur), 14 miles west of Nizamabad, (Telangana) was the capital of the Rashtrakuta King Indra III 915 to 917 A.D. and was known as Indrapura.

The Chalukyan temples of the 11th and 12th centuries represent some of the finest specimens of temple architecture and sculpture. Koli-paka or Kulpak about halfway between Warangal and Hyderabad, Garla near Dornakal, Nagai near Wadi, Alampur near Raichur, are some of the places, which contain ruins of later Chalukyan temples. Steps have been taken to conserve some of these temples. Several inscriptions of the later Chalukyas have also been published, the earliest being that of Jayasimha II, Jagadekamalla, dated 1017 A.D., found near Daulatabad. Two inscriptions of Someswara I dated 1056 and 1058 A.D., were discovered at Bodhan and Nagai. Two inscriptions of Vikramaditya VI,

dated 1088 and 1092 A. D., were discovered at Memirabad in the Raichur Dt. and at Nagai. The last is that of Jagadekamallu II dated 1148 A. D. at Nagai.

The period of Vikramaditya was a glorious period in the history of the Western Chalukyas and the emperor had a worthy biographer in the Sanskrit poet, Bilhana. Kalyan, the famous capital of Vikramaditya, which attracted scholars from all parts of India is in the Nizam's Dominions. The Nagai inscriptions mentioned above disclose two new titles of Vikramaditya VI—Raya Narayana and Raya Kanthirava. The Nagai inscriptions refer to an educational endowment for 252 scholars with arrangements for clothing, boarding and library equipment.

In the field of numismatics also, the collections that are now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum range over a very wide period of history. We have got a collection of more than 25,000 coins and some of them go back to, at least the 2nd century B. C. Some of the earliest coins were found in the Karimnagar Dt., in the Telingana. They are known as Puranas, or Karshapanas. They bear no dates or names, but have only a number of symbols. In the Nalgonda Dt. in the Telingana, a large quantity of old Chalukyan coins were found and some of them are those of the first Eastern Chalukya King, Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, 615 to 633 A. D. Several coins of the later Chalukyan kings were also obtained from Gulbarga and Bir and one or two Gold Varahas are attributed to Vikramaditya VI 1075 to 1126 A. D.

We now pass on to the Kakatiya period. The Kakatiyas were magnificent builders. The earliest monument of theirs is the Hanumakonda temple built by Prola in the 12th century. It is now in a state of perfect preservation and is properly enclosed to prevent its being misused.

Next, in chronological order comes the Fort of Warangal, which was begun by Ganapati Deva, the greatest king of the dynasty, whose inscriptions we find all over the Telingana. He was a great builder of temples and 40 miles from Hanumakonda, are the temples of Palampet, which are described as constituting "the brightest stars in the galaxy of medieval Indian temples." Temples were also constructed at Upparapalli in the Karimnagar Dt. and Nagalapadu in the Nalgonda Dt. Other temples of Ganapathi and his successors are scattered all over the Telingana, especially at Pangal and Rajkonda in the Nalgonda Dt. and at Nagnur and Manthana in the Karimnagar Dt. The architecture of several of these temples is extremely artistic. In the Pillalammarri temple, Mr. Yazdani has discovered three Fresco paintings, one of them representing the churning of the ocean by Gods and demons with the Naga serpent as their rope and Mount Mandara as the churning rod.

Ganapathi Deva was not only a builder of temples but was responsible for the construction of magnificent tanks, which have been repaired from time to time by succeeding dynasties of rulers. One of these is the Ramappa lake, 8 square miles in extent, with a colossal bund on one of its sides. The largest is the Pakhal lake covering an area of 13 square miles.

A number of hill forts were constructed all over the kingdom and they played an important part, not only in the Kakatiya period but through out the Bahmani and the Kutbshahi periods. Golconda was one of the hill forts of Warangal and it is interesting to note that the Kakatiya emblem of Ganda-bherunda—the bird with two heads holding two elephants by the beaks and two by the claws is still to be seen prominently, on the walls of the Hindu temple, facing the Durbar hall on the Bala Hissar. The forts of Elgandal, in the Karimnagar Dt. said to be the home of the Telugu poet, Velagandala, Bhongir and Rajakonda in the Nalgonda Dt. Nalgonda itself, which contains a monolithic pillar 41 ft. in height, Pangal, with its large tank, known as Udaya Samudram are some of the specimens of medieval Hindu forts of Telingana. All these places have been surveyed and steps have been taken to preserve them from decay.

Several inscriptions of the Kakatiya kings have been published. One of them has no date but gives the genealogy of the Kakatiyas up to Ganapathi Deva. The Palampet inscription of 1213 A.D. brings into prominence the Recherla family of chiefs that played an important part in the Kakatiya history. The Upparapalli inscription of 1236 A.D. refers to the northern conquests of Ganapathi and to the battle of Bokhera, where Rajenayaka won a victory. The Nagalapadu and the Pillalamarri inscriptions were briefly referred to in the Andhra history of Mr. Ch Veerabhadra Rao. A detailed examination of these inscriptions has been made and they are being sent to experts for being edited. They indicate the prominent part played by the Recherla Reddy family. I had the honour of editing the Copper Plate Inscription of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramamba, daughter of Ganapathi Deva, dated 1273 A. D. It describes another family of chiefs, known as the Viryala family.

Rajahmundry, the head quarters of the Andhra Historical Research Society has a Persian inscription fixed over the gateway of its principal mosque. It is for the first time published by Mr. Yazdani in the *Epigraphica Indo-moslemica* of 1923—24 and it records the construction of the mosque in 1324 A. D. by Ulugh Khan, the Commander of Ghiyazuddin Tughluk, who reduced Warangal to surrender in 1322 A. D.

The fall of Warangal was followed by the establishment of a new Hindu dynasty on the banks of the River Tungabhadra—that of

Vijayanagar. Prior to its establishment, there was an old Hindu kingdom in its neighbourhood—that of Anegondi. It is now one of the Samasthanams under H.E.H. The Nizam. It also contains some old temples and fresco paintings have also been discovered there.

One of the Governors of Warangal under the Bahmanis at the close of the 15th century was Shitab Khan. He constructed a Darbar Hall in the Fort of Warangal, which is now in a good state of preservation. An inscription of Shitab Khan was edited with an elaborate introduction by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao and is now in course of publication by the Archaeological Department.

Of the Kutbshahi kings of Golconda, Ibrahim Gutbshah was a special patron of the Andhras. Ponnaganti Telaganaya and Addanki Gangadhara Kavi were patronised by him. His long stay at Vijayanagara and his accession to the throne with the help of the Telugu chiefs made him show special favour to the Telugus. Koelkonda in the Mahaboobnagar District was a strong fortress held by the Telugu chiefs and there is an inscription referring to the help given by them to Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Lastly, the tradition of Ramdas is familiar to all the Andhras and one of the cells on the Golconda fort, with rough engravings on stone of the figures of Hanuman and other deities is pointed out by tradition as the place of his confinement, during the reign of the last Qutb Shahi King.

It is evident from what I have said so far, that in the several Departments of Research like Excavation, Conservation, Epigraphy and Numismatics, the work that is being carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad is of immense value to the reconstruction of the history of the Deccan in general and of the history of the rulers of the Andhra country in particular. All this information is buried in the Reports and monographs of the Archaeological Department and the public has neither the time nor the interest to read and understand what they contain. To arouse public interest in the antiquities of the country, Museums are added as adjuncts to the Archaeological Department.

A well equipped museum was recently opened by H.E.H. The Nizam at Hyderabad. Several specimens of Amaravathi sculpture, Jaina statues, 10 to 14 ft. high from Patancheru in the Medak District and several Hindu sculptures, Saivite and Vaishnavite, mostly from the Telingana, stone inscriptions, both Chalukyan and Kakatiya, copies of paintings from Ajanta and Ellora are some of the exhibits that are of special interest and value to students of Andhra antiquities. A beginning is also made in the collection of old Palm-leaf manuscripts that are found all over the country.

No Government however well equipped can possibly be expected to exhaust all the sources of research. The co-operation of learned societies and individual scholars is very necessary. Institutions like The Bhandarkar Institute at Bombay, The Mythic Society at Bangalore and the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry—to mention only those that are nearest to us—have contributed very much to the advance of historical knowledge. Thanks to the Raja Saheb of Munagala and other Andhra potentates of these Dominions, The Andhra Historical Research Society was started at Hyderabad, about 10 years ago. It is located in the Krishna Deva Raya Library, a library of 30 years standing, which contains over 4000 Volumes of books, and has made a great contribution to the intellectual advancement of the Andhras of Hyderabad. The Research Society employed the two Pandit Brothers—Seshadri Ramana Kavulu for short periods from time to time to tour round the Andhra Dts. and collect old manuscripts and take estampages of inscriptions. Their work was more or less a labour of love. About 200 Palm leaf manuscripts have been collected. They await a detailed cataloguing. A few Kaifiyats or local records were found. A small collection of coins is exhibited here today. Their important work was the deciphering of epigraphic records. Abstracts of their readings were published in the Hyderabad Andhra Journals from time to time. About an year ago, Mr. Rama Rao, for some time Research student in Kakatiya history in the Madras University made a study of these records and prepared a lengthy monograph on The History of the Kakatiyas which is now appearing in parts in the Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society. He has, also completed the work of deciphering the estampages and a final revision is now being made by an expert at Madras.

Mr. Bh. V. Krishna Rao, one of the former Secretaries of the Andhra Historical Research Society borrowed one of our Chalukyan epigraphs and published it in one of the recent numbers of The Bharati. Special mention must be made of one of the poet brothers, mentioned above, Pandit Venkatramana Charlu garu, who is now employed as Telugu Pandit in the local Intermediate College, as the only indigenous (Mulki) scholar, who has utilised his knowledge of Telugu, Sanskrit and Epigraphy for reconstructing the history of the Kakatiyas and who possesses an intimate local knowledge of the country, its poets and its records.

The veteran pioneer in the cause of historical research among the Andhras of the Dominions was the late K. V. Laksman Rao whose premature death is an irreparable loss to the Andhra country. In his memory, the Historical Research Society has been named Lakshman Raya Parisodhaka Sangha.

Mention must also be made of the work that is being done by the Reddy Vidyalaya of Hyderabad, towards the collection and preservation of Antiquities. The Reddies of Hyderabad are the inheritors of the traditions of the great Reddy families of the Kakatiya period. Thanks to the enlightened outlook of Reddies like Raja Venkatarama Reddy Saheb, the Police Commissioner of Hyderabad and Mr. Pingle Venkata Rama Reddy, the Chairman of our Reception Committee today, large sums of money have been spent for the construction of a hall, with a library attached to it. Large size enlargements of the two ministers of Abul Hassan, Tana Shah, Akkanna and Madanna from contemporary portraits and a copy of Ramaraya's painting are of historical interest. Several palm leaf manuscripts are also to be found in the collection of this library. Special mention should be made of a Canto of Mahabharata illustrated with paintings—a valuable gift from the library of the Gadwal Samasthanam. Calligraphy was developed as a fine art and some of the finest specimens of Calligraphy are to be seen on the stone inscriptions of the Qutb Shahi period. The Calligraphist's skill was also exhibited in copying out the Sacred Book of The Koran, some of the best specimens of which, we find in the Hyderabad Museum. Telugu Calligraphy was also very much encouraged and we find some artistic specimens of the Calligraphist's skill in the Reddy Vidyalaya.

A large collection of Palm leaf manuscripts, mostly in the Canarese language, dealing with a variety of subjects is in the possession of Mr. Md. Kasim, a Unani doctor in the city of Hyderabad. They are not catalogued and, it is, therefore, very difficult to estimate their value. Several of them, however, deal with the theology of the Lingayet sect, which has a large following in the Canarese country of the Nizam's Dominions. A detailed examination of these manuscripts will certainly yield valuable results but, I hope I am not disclosing a secret, the owner is not able to see his way to part with his treasure for the price offered by the Government and it is, therefore, still a buried treasure.

Similar treasures exist in the possession of several Jagirdars and nobles in the state. Jagirs and Samasthans of as great an importance as the Grand Duchies in the old German Empire exist in our Dominions. Gadwal, Wanaparti, Jatprole, Amarachinta, Dornkonda, Palvanha and Papannapet are only some of the most prominent. They are of very ancient origin, and these estates are full of antiquarian interest. Some of the present rulers of these estates are well educated and enlightened and are anxious to know the past history and traditions of their estates. A word of caution is, however, necessary. It is not merely a knowledge of prosody and the capacity to write a well sounding panegyric that makes for an epigraphic expert or a critic of art.

May I venture to make another suggestion to the Jagirdars and Noblemen, to lend such of their valuable records and manuscripts whose publicity is not against their interests or the interests of the state: to public libraries and museums where they can be easily accessible to scholars.

Talking of old Records, one is compelled to refer to the historical material that was made available by the publication of the Records of the Madras Government Records Office and more recently of the Peshwa Daftar Records by the Bombay Government. Much of the available information on Akkanna and Madanna, the two Brāhmin ministers, is gathered from the Madras Records. The 12 volumes of the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillay published by the Government of Madras, are an Indian Pepys of the times of Dupleix and are very valuable and interesting. The Records offices of the Government of the Indian States might follow the example of the Government of the British Indian provinces and publish such of the records as are of historical interest and are not connected with contemporary issues.

There is no doubt that a beneficent Government spends on a magnanimous scale for the preservation of its ancient monuments. The aristocracy may follow the example of the Government. But yet the advance made towards the contribution of knowledge is bound to be very slow, unless we have a band of scholars who believe in the adage that work is worship. The pioneer of historical scholarship in the Andhra Desa is Mr. Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao. The late Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao died a premature death. His outlook was many-sided and he made a great contribution to the Andhra Renaissance of the 20th century. The worthy President of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Mr. Jayanthi Ramayya Pautulu, is an example of what a Government servant with onerous duties to perform can yet contribute to the cause of knowledge. Ever since his retirement from Government Service, he has given all his time to Andhra epigraphy undisturbed by the busy world in his sylvan retreat at Mukhteswaram. To the younger scholars the example of these three has been a great source of inspiration.

We have been producing graduates both from the Nizam College and the Osmania University College but till now not much of original work has been done except by those graduates, who have been able to get employed in the Archaeological Department. Epigraphical research and the examination of literary sources of this part of the country require a thorough knowledge of the several vernaculars of the State. An interpretation of the cultural history of the Deccan from original sources, is,

therefore, impossible without a knowledge of Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi and Sanskrit. The Osmania University has, therefore, created several studentships for the advanced study of these languages and in course of time, these scholars will be in a position to carry on original work based on indigenous sources.

I now come to the end of my discourse, History teaches us that we are the inheritors of a past and the makers of a future. No nation can wipe out its past but it can learn from its past. The civilizations that have had the longest history are those that were based upon tolerance and the appreciation of the opponent's point of view. We often hear it stated that history is no propaganda. But yet we know that the way in which history is interpreted is very much dependent on the attitude of mind of the person who interprets it. The communist's view of history is different from the capitalist's view of history but both think that they are perfectly right in their interpretation. It is, therefore, incumbent upon every one of us who are interested in the progress and welfare of Humanity, so to interpret history as to make every individual proud not only of his peculiar tradition and culture but of the equally glorious tradition and culture of his neighbour. For the times have gone never to come back again, when we lived within our narrow walls suspicious of our neighbours. The whole world is now becoming one in a sense in which it never was one. We must, therefore emphasise those aspects of our past history as would lead us to "a vision of Humanity as an inheritor of ideals, that can be shared by all and be a source of inspiration to all."

After the Presidential address was over, messages from the following gentlemen wishing success to the Conference were read by

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., the Hon. Secretary of the Society:--

Raja Giri Rao Bahadur, High Court Justice, Hyderabad, The Personal Asst. to the Resident, H.E.H. The Nizam's State, Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyyengar M.A., PH.D, Ramachandra Naik Barister, Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamoorthy Pantulu, Rai Bahadoor Pandit Heera Lal, B.A., G. Venkatrao, M.A., L.L.B., Rao Bahadur Prof. Kibe, M.A., Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro, Kt. B.A., B.L., M.L.C., J. Ramiah Pantulu B.A., B.L., Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Syed Khursheed Ali, B.A., Rao Bahadur R. Krishnarao Bhonsle, Rev. J. Roy Strock, M.A., D.D., Dr. B. Seshagirirao, M.A., PH.D., N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L., D. Venkatramiah M. S. Sarma and several others from different parts of the country.

The meeting was then dissolved, the morning session being over.

In the evening at 4 P.M., the meeting again commenced and the President requested Mr. Wamana Ramachandra Naik Jagirdar, Hyderabad to open the Historical Exhibition, arranged in connection with the Kakatiya Celebrations. In opening the Exhibition, the Jagirdar gave the following address:—

**Address of Dharmavir Vaman Ramachandra Naik Esq. Jagirdar,
delivered at the opening of the Historical Exhibition.**

GENTLEMEN,

I am very much indebted to the Andhra Historical Research Society for having allowed me the unique privilege, though I am not myself an Andhra, of opening this exhibition of historical material belonging to the time of the Kakatiya rulers, in this historic place of Hanumakonda. The fact that the Society has chosen me, in spite of great many scholars of eminent fame, indicates that they have really done me a great and unique honour.

It is needless to say that exhibitions of this character are of momentous significance. Scholars are agreed that these create a sort of intellectual effervescence the result of which would be the upliftment of pure unsullied historical truths and the dispelling of popular fallacies and mis-guided notions. But I would go a step further and assert that these exhibitions should give us an insight into the glories of the past, bring out by contrast the deplorable condition of the present and prove suggestive for the evolution of our future.

Six long centuries have elapsed since the rule of the Kakatiyas has set in this heart of the Deccan and we are today assembled to sing the glories of those illustrious times. I presume, therefore, that a few words about the dynasty will not be out of place here.

Having been originally the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas assumed independence in the 12th century. Prola, Rudra, Mahadeva, Ganapati, Rudramba and Pratapa Rudra ruled over an extensive area from Anumakonda and Warangal. Their rule which extended over a period of nearly three centuries is marked by many deeds of valour, broad-minded literary patronage, and statesmanship of an unprecedented kind. That famous inscription in the thousand pillared temple indicates that even as early as the time of Rudra, the Kakatiya kingdom extended up to the sea in the East, Srisaïlam in the South, Kalyān in the West and the Malaya hills in the North. This great dynasty fell a prey to the Muhammadans in 1323 A. D. It is said that Raja Pratapa Rudra's son held Warangal for some time more; however the flame of Kakatiya glory flickered for the last time in 1344 A. D.

Anyone who visualises the momentous days of this dynasty's rule cannot afford to forget the name of Rudrāmba. The daughter of the great Ganapatideva, this queen was, like her contemporary Sultana Rezia, noted for her valour, statesmanship and beneficent activity and won the praise of even foreign travellers like Marco Polo. She was in fact the first Hindu lady that assumed sovereignty and enjoyed it to a

ripe old age. Out of the three great kingdoms of the Deccan in the 13 century, Deogir fell in 1295, Dwara Samudra in 1310 and Warangal in 1323, A. D. Parts of these three ancient kingdoms have formed the modern Hyderabad State which is enjoying the beneficent rule of H.E.H. the Nizam. More than half of this dominion is Andhra and was included in the empire of the Kakatiyas. It abounds in numerous historical relics like forts, temples, inscriptions, palm-leaf manuscripts, coins etc. The Andhra area is a fertile field for the investigator of Kakatiya history. The Archaeological department of our State, which has been actively working for the last eighteen years, has so far published three or four stone inscriptions of the Kakatiya dynasty. Much has also been done for the preservation of ancient monuments, the most notable of them being the famous caves of Ellora and Ajanta, and an archaeological Museum has been opened too. With a little more vigour, the department is sure to be able to aid the re-construction of Kakatiya history immensely.

The Lakshmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandal of Hyderabad has been doing yeoman service to the cause of historical research in our dominion, collecting hundreds of unpublished inscriptions, coins and manuscripts. The Reddi Library also possesses a very good collection of rare manuscripts, paintings and armour. Many such agencies have yet to come into being, patronized by the public as well as the Government.

The exhibition which is now being opened contains many rare exhibits. H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological department, the Lakshmana Raya Parisodhaka Mandal and the Reddi Library have all contributed their quotas. There are besides numerous inscriptions and gold coins etc. collected by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. It is not possible to assess the value of these rare collections. Time and future Researches alone may do so.

Gentleman, I beg your pardon for having interpolated this long speech between you and this exhibition which you are all anxious to see. This is an auspicious and historic day for us all. The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, which has given this unique opportunity not only to the inhabitants of Warangal but to the whole of this Dominion deserves our heartfelt thanks. We are specially indebted to Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., the Secretary of the Society who had to encounter many difficulties owing to the peculiar circumstances in this State and the Reception Committee of Hanumakonda. I pray to the Almighty that He would afford us frequent opportunities to sing the story of our ancients even in the shape of Historical Research and pave the way for our future well being. I now declare the exhibition open.

Proceedings of the Second and Third days.

During the second and the third days of the Conference, in the mornings, the party visited Ramappa Lake and Palampet Temples. Hanumakonda Fort and Temples, Warangal Fort and Temples and other historical antiquities. In the evenings, public meetings were held, in the open air, behind the college buildings. The reports of the places visited and the lists of papers read and articles exhibited are all given below.

On the opening day of the session, on behalf of the Reception Committee Sri Seshadri Ramanakavuluread verses welcoming the delegates and visitors.

On the second day, the Members of the Raja Raja Narendra Library read an appreciative address eulogising the services of the Andhra Historical Research Society in the cause of advanced research.

On the third day, the Members of the Sabdanu Sasana Library expressed their grateful thanks to the Managing Council of the Society and read an address eulogising the services of the Society.

On the first night of the session, Sri Jagadhisu Natya Mandali of Hyderabad enacted the drama *Vara Vikramam* under the auspices of the Society and in aid of Sri Raja Raja Narendra Andhra Bhashanilayam. On the second and third nights the local musicians gave vocal and veena performances to the entire satisfaction of the delegates and visitors. The Society's best thanks are due to those members who made the stay of the delegates so enjoyable.

A REPORT ON RAMAPPA LAKE. Mulug Taluq, Warangal District.

This tank is situated at a distance of 44 miles North-East of Warangal and 12 miles from Mulug, the head quarters of that taluq. This is one of the largest tanks of the District.

It is said that this tank and the temple in rear of it were constructed by Cherla Brahma Reddy, the Commander of the forces of Prathapa Rudra Deva II, the king of Warangal about 700 years ago who kept his forces at Palampet. The word Palampet means "Military Station."

This tank has got a combined drainage area of 82 sq. miles of which 60 sq. miles are free and 22 intercepted. The capacity of the tank is 2909 Mc. ft. and the yield is 1426. 79 Mc. ft. The total ayacut under the tank is 5046 acres and the average cultivation for the ten years is 4047 acres, which is less than the irrigable one. The reasons for these are:—

1. Want of population in the area through which the channels run.
2. Unhealthy climate in the rainy season and cold weather.

is rich. The present population in the locality is very insufficient and the ryots from the distant villages take up the lands for cultivation and the channels have an annual maintenance grant of Rs. 5,000.

A REPORT ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF HANUMAKONDA.

I. (a) *Hanumakonda Temple* : —

Situated four miles from Warangal, it was the capital of the Andhras before Warangal was founded. There is a main block with three shrines and a hall. An inscription in front of the temple signifies that the temple was built in 1162-63 A.D. Perhaps the porch, Nandi and the detached pillared-hall are later additions. The temple is dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and Surya. The figures of these Gods are carved on the doorways of the shrines. The Northern and the Eastern shrines had originally images of Vishnu and Surya. But the Salakas which are seen now might have been replaced under the influence of the Saivites. The most notable features of the temple are the carved pillar screens, and sculptures consisting of Dwarapalakas etc. The temple is built in the Chalukyan style. It is massive but at the same time has a lofty style with a due sense of proportion. The Nandi portion, the detached pillar and hall are comparatively plain without ornamentation. But the Nandi is a splendid specimen of a monolith.

An inscription in the temple near the entrance gate gives the geneology of the Warangal kings. In this inscription, Prataparudra styles himself as "Mahamandalaswara" or "Great Lord" and Mr. Haig infers that the Kakatiyas might have been merely vassals. But this inference is disputed. It is believed that this Sanskrit inscription of Prataparudra was executed by the Pandit Rameswara Bhattu.

(b) *Minor Temples at Hanumakonda* : —

(i) *Padmakshi Temple* In West Hanumakonda Jain figures are found in the surroundings. The Goddess Padmakshi is regarded as Parvathi. But originally she might have been regarded as a Jain Goddess. Prole-
raja speaks of the Jains in eulogistic terms in his inscription lying in front of the temple. Perhaps Padmakshi's was a Jain temple till Rudradeva's time and then became a Saivite temple. In the temple there is a meditating Jain figure, next Padmakshi in a sitting posture and next we find several other Jain figures. There is a figure of Vinavaka, probably inscribed later on.

(ii) *Liddheswara Temple*—Originally Jain. A small tank is seen near the temple and we cannot fix the exact date when it was made Saivite.

(iii) *Swayambhu Temple*—The favourite God of the Kakatiyas according to "*Prataparudriyam*."

A REPORT ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF WARANGAL.

I. The Fort of Warangal:—

Begun by Ganapathi Deva and completed by Rudrama Devi, it has two walls. The inner one is of stone and the outer one of mud, surrounded by a deep moat. The mud wall is called Bhumikota. The stone wall is known as Peddakota. Traces of a third wall of earth are visible near the villages of Timmapur and Naisimulagudem, 6 miles to the south of Hanumakonda. These measures of extraordinary defence might have been due to the flatness of the country. The stone wall has four gates. North and South are closed. West and East are open and are known as Hyderabad and Bandara Darwajas respectively. Images of lions are seen on the door. There are long flights of steps on each side of the gateways.

It is praiseworthy to note that the First Taluqdar of Warangal, Mr. Abdul Basit Khan Saheb after personally inspecting the ramparts and other places of archaeological interest in the Warangal Fort area, carefully constructed a detailed map showing the walls, towers, magazines and temples and presented it to the 'Exhibition.' It is learnt, that at his instance, excavation of the place will soon be undertaken and with the objects discovered, a Museum will be opened near the site. The Andhra world should feel grateful to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam for this grand and noble project.

II The temples of the Fort:—

At the centre of the fort there is a temple. It was begun by Ganapathi Deva but, being too huge to be finished in his reign, was left unfinished. A few pillars remain now but there are four richly carved gateways. Their style resembles the Buddhist as they resemble the gateways of Sanchi, to a certain extent, though there are differences in details. The distance between the North and the South gateways is 480 ft. and between East and West 433 ft. There is a mound in the centre rich with carvings. Sculptures and inscriptions are to be seen everywhere.

There are minor temples in the fort, built probably before the construction of the central temple. There is no architectural importance of these temples. But they are full of inscriptions. Some temples are dedicated to Siva. In front of the Sambhugudi there are three beautifully carved bulls lying huddled up. In front of Venkatesagudi, a richly carved pillar stands. Perhaps the bulls and the pillars might have been taken from the main temple and placed before these minor ones.

III. Shitab Khan's Hall:—

Near the Western gateway of the central temple there is a Muham. madan Building. Its style is Pathan. It is called the Darbar Hall of Shitab Khan. Shitab Khan was the Governor of Warangal under the

II. *The Lakshmanarāya Parīśodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad.*

WRITTEN MSS.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Yādagiri Narasimha Śatakamu. | 6 Rāma Rāya (Persian). |
| 2 Nirōshtya Śītakalyānamu. • | 7 Bhuvanagiri Charitramu. |
| 3 Dhamsā Charitramu. | (Urdu) |
| 4 Hyderabad Kaiffiyat. | 8 Charigonda Kaiffiyat. |
| 5 Pratapa Rudra Charitra. | 9 Brahma Kaivartamu. |

PALM LEAF MSS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Dhanamjaya Vijaya Vyāmōhamu. | 16 Kavigajānkuśamu. |
| 2 Brahmōttara Khandamu | 17 Saṭhari Vaibhavam. |
| 3 Ramayana Champu. | 18 Narayana Śathakamu. |
| 4 Śāli Vāhana Sapta Śati. | 19 Prabhulinga Leela. |
| 5 Pāvuluri Gaṇithamu | 20 Basavapurānamu. |
| 6 Aśva Lakshana Sāramu. | 21 Sasyānandamu. |
| 7 Tālānka Nandini Parīṇayamu. | 22 Sivayōgasāramu. |
| 8 Kollipāka Māhātmyamu. | 23 Sūrināadhanandana Vilasamu. |
| 9 Kacchaputa Tantramu. | 24 Biluva Padigarēni Pēraṇamu. |
| 10 Bhairava Tantramu. | 25 Madhuravaṇi Vilasamu. |
| 11 Sālmakṛkanda Nandana Vilāsamu. | 26 Nala Charitra. |
| 12 Sri Krishna Śaitānandiyamu. | 27 Lakshmaṇa Parīṇāyamu. |
| 13 Adhyātma Ramayanamu. | 28 Sītā Vivāhamu. |
| 14 Anangamangalamu. | 29 Bhagavatamu—Sanskrit |
| 15 Brahma Vaivartamu. | (Old Script) |

MAPS.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 The Nizām's Dominions (English.) | 2 Do, Do. (Telugu.) |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|

REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Research Reports Nos. 1—7. | 3 Catalogue of Inscriptions. |
| 2 Research Publications Nos. 1—4. | 4 Catalogue of Books. |

III. *The Krishnadevarāya Andhrabāshā Nilayamu, Hyderabad.*

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Portrait of Rama Raya. | 3 Pūsāpātivāri Kaiffiyat. |
| 2 Rajatōtsava Samchikā pts. I&II. | 4 Samārlakōta Kaiffiyat. |

IV. *The Reddi Bourding House.*

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Bharatamu (Illustrated.) | 8 Sacrificial Swords. |
| 2 History of Warangal (Persian Mss.) | 9 Skin Shields. |

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| 3 | Jalaluddin's Portrait. | 10 | Tortoise Shell Shield. |
| 4 | Bow and five Arrows. | 11 | Some unpublished Mss. |
| 5 | Small Spear-head. | 12. | Virabhadra Vijayamu. |
| 6 | Amara Singi. | 13 | Sārangadhara Charitramu. |
| 7 | Big Spear-heads. | 14 | Ranganadha Ramayanamū. |
| | | 15 | Bhagavatamu. |

V. Lent by Dr. C. Narayana Rao.

- 1 Chart of Colloquial language in Inscriptions.
- 2 „ Evolution of the Southern Scripts.
- 3 „ Evolution of Symbols.
- 4 „ Andhra Vijnēya Vistṛti.
- 6 Estampages of Yerragaudi Edicts of Asoka.

VI. Lent by the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

- 1 Impressions of the Malkapur Pillar Inscription.
- 2 „ a C. P. grant of Rudramba.
- 3 „ Pedda Cherukūr grant of Sarvaḷōkāśraya.
- 4 New and unpublished Copper coins (about 30).

VII, Lent by Mr. Abdul Basit Khan Saheb, First Taluqdar, Warangal.

- 1 A sketch map of the Warangal fort and ruins.
- 2 An Urdu copy of the History of the Kakatiyas.

VIII. The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

- 1 Two Eastern Ganga and Two Eastern Chalukyan C. P. Grants.
- 2 Copper Coins of Muhamadan and Vizianagar kings.
- 3 Gold Coins of the E. Ganga, Yadava, Kakatiya and Vizianagar kings.
- 4 A palm-leaf manuscript of Padmanāik.
- 5 Impressions of Kakatiya Inscriptions found at Rajahmundry.
- 6 A map of the Kakatiya Empire.
- 7 A portrait of the Head of Prataparudra?
- 8 Photos of Jain Sculptures found in the Padmakshmi temple.
- 9 Photos of Warangal Fort and its antiquities.
- 10 Society Publications (English and Telugu.)

List of papers read or taken as read at the Kakatiya Conference.

- 1 M. Kama Rao, B.A., Hons. } —History of the Kakatiyas.
B.ED., M.R.A.S.
- 2 P. Madhava Sarma } —Rudrama.

- 3 D. Seshacharlu — { Social and Literary conditions in
the Kakatiya period,
- 4 S.T. Sreenivasa Gopalachary, M.L. — Kakatiya Coins.
- 5 Rai Bahdur Pandit Hiralal, B.A. — Inscriptions of the Baster State,
- 6 Do. Do. — Danteswer Ins. of Raja Dikpala Deva.
- 7 Maulvi Sayyad Shamsulla Quadree } — History of Warangal.
- 8 A. V. N. Somayajulu, M.A. — The word Kakati.
- 9 Somasundara Desikar — Tamil Literature and the Kakatiyas.
- 10 P. Venkatesvara Rao — Local History of Hanumakonda.
- 11 B. Krishnamurthi — Kakatiyas and Reddis.
- 12 Maulvi Sayyad Ahmadulla Quadree, M. R. A. S. } — The Antiquities of Warangal.
- 13 A. Rajesvara Kavi — The Kakatiyas.
- 14 A. S. Chetty, B.A., Hons. B.Ed. — { Social conditions in the Kakatiya
period.
- 15 S. Pratapa Reddi, B.A., B.L. — Do. Do.
- 16 Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, M.A., PH.D. — Kakatiya Prasasti.
- 17 Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T. PH.D., — The word Kakati.
- 18 D. Venkata Ramanacharya — Pratapa Rudriyamu.
- 19 J. Ramiah Pantulu, B.A., B.L., — The Malkapur Stone Inscription.
- 20 B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A. B.L. — { Social and Religious history of the
Kakatiyas.
- 21 R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. — { Historical Geography of the Kaka-
tiya Empire.
- 22 Do. Do. — Feudatories of the Kakatiyas.
- 23 R. Narasimha Razu — Caste of the Kakatiyas,
- 24 A. Bapirazu, B.A., — Kakatiya Art.
- 25 G. Raghava Reddi — Verses.
- 26 Ch. Bhaskara Lingam — Appreciation of Kakati Prola & others.

Papers subsequently received.

- 1 M. Viresvara Sastri — The Kakatiya Capital,
- 2 G. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.L.B. — { Pratapa Rudra and the Moham-
madan invasions.
- 3 S. V. Narasimham, M.A. — The Kakatiyas.
- 4 M. V. Ramanacharya — Pratapa Rudra and the Kakatiya family,

**THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY
MEETING HELD ON 10-4-32**

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1931-32.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read the following report:—

The Managing Council have great pleasure in presenting the following Report of the Society's work for the year 1931-32.

At the last Annual General Body Meeting of the Society held on 4-4-31 under the Presidentship of M. R. Ry. J Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., the annual reports presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian were adopted and the following office-bearers were elected for the year under report:—

Messrs.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L., *President.*
V. JAGANNATHA RAO, M.A., L.T., *Vice-President.*
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., *Secretary.*
R. SUBBA RAO, B.A., B.L., *Treasurer.*
D. VENKATA RAO, M.A., L.T., *Librarian.*

Members of the Council.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.
D. SRIRAMAMURTI, B.A.
N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
D. SAMBASIVA RAO.

The Treasurer, Mr. R. Subba Rao having expressed his inability to carry on the work, the council accepted his resignation and elected in his place Mr. N. Kameswara Rao B.A., B.L., the former Treasurer.

To the vacancy caused in the managing council, due to Mr. Kameswara Rao being elected as Treasurer, M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib A. Rama Rao, Garu B.A., B.L., was elected.

In the vacancy caused by the transfer of the Vice-President Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao, Sri Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur was elected as Vice President.

Members.

The number of ordinary members on rolls on 1-4-1932 stands at 187, as against 242 of the previous year. Besides, there are three Life-Members and two Hon. Members, making in all 192 members. The decrease in membership is unfortunately due to the financial stringency which has also affected the Society in other ways.

Subscribers.

As compared with the number of 40 Subscribers on rolls on 1-4-1931, there are at present 39 Subscribers and it is hoped that this number will increase during the year.

Patrons.

During the year, the Society gained three Life Patrons, viz. The Rajah of Puri, the Raja of Kallikhota and the Rajah of Chemudu who very kindly promised to donate annually a sum of Rs. 100 towards the publication of the Journal. The new Raja Saheb of Jeypore a former member of the Society, very kindly agreed to be a Patron of the Society. Attempts are made to request the other Patrons to donate sums annually so that the work of the Society may continue unhampered.

Exchanges.

The Society's Journal continues to exchange with 80 Journals and Books published in India and outside showing that its work is widely appreciated.

Journal.

During the year, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., was elected by the Council to edit the Journal but he could not accept the same. Therefore, the council elected Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L., to edit the Journal.

During the year, the Society published 4 parts of the Journal viz., parts 3 and 4 of Volume 5 and parts 1 and 2 of Volume VI. Parts 3 and 4 of Volume VI will issue as a combined Volume very soon.

In addition to the publication of the Sanskrit drama *Kaumudi-mahotsava* by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., and the Telugu works relating to the Eastern Chalukya, the Eastern Ganga and the Kakatiya Dynasties by Messrs. B.V. Krishna Rao, R. Subba Rao, and M. Rama Rao respectively, the Society has undertaken the publication of "The Revenue Administration of Northern Circars"—a thesis for PH.D. prepared by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S. Articles bearing on Philology are contributed by Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyengar and Dr. C. Narayana Rao while Messrs. G. Ramdas and L. H. Jaga Deb devoted themselves to Epigraphy. It is satisfactory to note that the articles published in the Society's Journal continue to receive attention and notice in the pages of several Journals. Several books and periodicals are being received for favour of review in the pages of the Journal.

The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the contributors for maintaining the quality of the Journal.

Kakatiya Sanchika.

By about the time of the last annual meeting the ~~Kalinga~~ *Desa Charitra* was published and during the year 121 books have either been sold or presented to donors and contributors. This year the Society has already undertaken to publish the *Kakatiya Sanchika* after duly celebrating the *Kakatiya* day at Warangal. The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Editor of the book have visited Hyderabad during December with a view to arrange the preliminaries for the meeting. The Council feels glad to report that the mission was completely successful, the Nizam's Government having accorded permission for the holding of the Conference at Warangal on 25th, 26th and 27th instants and several gentlemen at Warangal having agreed to make the function a success. The Council takes the opportunity to request such of the members as can help in the celebration to do so at an early date.

Meetings and other activities.

During the year the Society held 12 m. c. meetings to transact the usual business of the Society—passing of accounts, admitting new Members and Exchanges etc. The Secretary of the Society, took part in the Bombay Historical Congress by contributing a paper on the Ganga Era. The Government of India have renominated the Secretary as a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for a period of 3 years.

Reading Room, Library and Museum.

The details of progress are given in the Librarian's report. At the time of the last annual meeting the Library had 591 Volumes whereas now it has nearly 700 Volumes. This phenomenal increase is due to the following causes. (1) With the Government Grant of Rs. 400 and the Municipal grant of Rs. 100 and with a loan of Rs. 80 a set of 32 Volumes of the Indian Antiquary has been purchased. (2) Besides, nearly 200 books and periodicals worth about Rs. One thousand have been added to the Library and these were received either for review or in Exchange.

The Museum has also received important additions—the impressions of three new C. P. grants viz., the Kechella, the Umavarma and the Pulimburu published in the Society's Journal Vol. VI pt. I, a stone containing a new Telugu Chola Inscription and some Gold Coins of the Vizianagar kings and Copper Coins of the East Ganga and Andhra kings.

In September last, the Library and Reading Room were shifted to the Theosophical Lodge where spacious accommodation is provided freely. The Society's best thanks are due to the President and Members of the Lodge. It is satisfactory to note that as a result of the shift the number of members who have visited the Reading Room has greatly increased.

Finance.

The details are given in the statement of the Treasurer. The Council notes with alarm that due to decrease in membership there is considerable fall in the receipts and so the Society had to borrow to the extent of nearly Rs. 600. The Council also feels constrained to bring to the notice of the General body that some members of the Society both resident and moffusil have not been able to clear up their arrears to the Society. One relieving feature is that the Society has been able to realise more than Rs. 300 by the sale of Kalinga Sanchikas. Under these circumstances, the Council earnestly appeals to the members to bring into the Society more of their friends as members and to convert their ordinary membership into life membership.

In conclusion, the Managing Council places on record its grateful thanks to the auditor Mr A. Sankara Rao, B.A., I.T., for checking the accounts of the Society.

Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure
(From 1-4-31 to 31-3-32.)

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
	RS.	A.	P.		RS.	A.	P.
Last year's balance ..	411	7	8	Postage ...	188	12	6
Subscriptions from				Travelling expenses ...	110	13	0
members ...	559	12	0	Printing and Paper ...	1108	11	6
Do. from life members	110	0	0	Blocks and Photos ...	45	1	0
Do. from subscribers	325	8	0	Part payment towards			
Donations ...	134	0	0	loan ...	250	0	0
Sale of Kalingasanchikas	302	14	0	Purchase of books ...	579	13	0
Do. of Raja Raja				Railway freight and cooly			
Sanchikas ...	50	8	0	hire for books	22	15	3
Do. of Journal parts	131	4	6	Binding of books	51	8	0
Loans taken on promotes	590	0	0	Peon's pay ...	108	9	3
Advance by Treasurer...	102	13	11	Room rent ...	64	0	0
Do. Secretary ...	30	0	0	Stationery ...	20	0	0
Miscellaneous receipts ...	2	8	0	Lighting charges ...	4	0	0
Interest on S. B. Acct. ...	1	14	1	Permanent advance to			
				Secretary for postage	16	7	0
				Advance returned to			
				Treasurer ...	102	13	11
				Do. to Secretary ...	30	0	0
				Mis charges ...	5	9	0
				S. B. Account ...	2	5	2
				Balance on hand ...	41	3	7
<hr/> Total Rs. 2752 10 2 <hr/>				<hr/> Total Rs. 2752 10 2 <hr/>			

Nt B:—Eleven copies of Raja Raja Pattabhisheka Sanchika have been sold during the year and two copies given in exchange. The price of one copy sold has to be realised. The number of copies on hand is 105 on 31-3-32.

Out of 500 copies of Kalinga desa Charitra printed and published by the Society, 41 copies have been sold, and 80 copies either exchanged or presented. 379 copies are in stock, 58 copies are with the binder and the rest with the Treasurer.

The stock of Journals is follows :—

Volume	I part	1	238	Reprint	Volume	IV part	1 & 2	166
		2	23				3 & 4	181
		3	87			V	1	161
		4	164				2	188
II		1	71				3	170
		2	114				4	178
		3 & 4	102			VI	1	200
III		1	85				2	225
		2	3 & 4	105				

• Checked and found correct.

A. SANKARA RAO, B.A., L.T.

" Auditor.

Report on the working of the Andhra Historical Research Society Library, Rajahmundry, for the year 1931—1932.

1. Period.

This Report covers the period from 1st April 1931 to 31st March 1932.

2. Administration.

The Hon. Librarian was assisted by a Library Council consisting of 3 Members of the Society viz. Messrs. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., D. Sambasiva Rao, and B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

5. Accommodation.

In the course of the year, the Library was shifted from its old rented rooms in Innespeta to the Theosophical Lodge, Olcott's Gardens, through the kindness of the Lodge authorities who have given free accommodation. This is a welcome change for more than one reason. It saved the Society expenditure on room-rent and found for the Library good accommodation in a spacious and decent building situated in a healthy garden well removed from the bustle and confusion of the town. It has further secured for the Library, a healthy association with the Reading Room of the Theosophical Lodge which has very remarkably made itself felt as evidenced by the great increase in the number of visitors to the Library, from 330 of the previous year to over 1200 of the year under review. But the distance of the present locality from the heart of the town is felt, however, as a disadvantage, by the members who have got to make the largest use of the books and Journals.

Additions to the Library.

The number of books that the Library contains today, including the bound volumes of Journals is 687, the number added in the year under review being 96, including 36 books purchased out of the Municipal grant of Rs. 100 and the Government grant of Rs. 400 for the year 1930—31. Thirty two volumes of the Indian Antiquary have been purchased with much effort and at considerable cost, since they form an invaluable asset to the Library.

Books received for review were 22, those presented were 20 and exchanges received were 18.

Reading Room.

The number of visitors that availed themselves of the Reading Room was 1201 as against 330 only of the previous year—a remarkable increase.

The number of books and Journals taken home and used by members of the Society was, however, only 58 as against 127 of the previous year—a fact explained perhaps by the removal of the Library to a considerable distance from the heart of the town. It is hoped, however, that an adjustment will be made by which the members will find themselves able to make a fuller use of the Library.

Cataloguing.

An attempt was made to sort the books and catalogue them with the help of the untiring services of Mr. D. Sambasiva Rao to whom the Society's sincerest thanks are due: a typed copy of the catalogue is ready to be printed.

Periodicals.

About 80 Journals, Reports and official publications are received in exchange for the Society's Journal, a list of which is printed at the close of our Journal.

Care of the Library and Museum.

The Library is growing in size and volume, the value of the books in it being estimated at present to be over Rs. 7000 and the value of the Coins and Copper plates which form the property of the Society being well-nigh Rs 1000. There is a real need of a full-timed Librarian who can take regular charge of the books and shelves and their timely binding and preservation as also the regulated issue and receipts of the books and Journals to members.

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 31-12-1931.

(1) Ordinary Members.

Messrs.	Rs. As.	Messrs.	Rs. As.
Venkataramiah Nidamarti.	4 0	Nageswara Rao Gade.	3 8
Kameswara Rao Sripada.	4 0	Lakshman Rao K. P.	4 0
Jaganadha Rao V.	4 0	Satyanarayana V.	5 8
Rama Rao M. (30-31)	3 0	Ramalinga Reddi C.	3 8
Venkataratnam Naidu L. „	3 8	Bhagavatam Gupta T.	3 8
Veeraragahavachari S.E.V. „	3 0	Dubrieul G. J.	3 8
Ramaswami Iyer L. V. „	3 0	Jogi Jaganadharaju Sri.	3 8
Ramana Rao Y. V. „	3 8	Narsimham P. L.	3 8
Atchuta Rao T.	2 0	Ramamurti K.	3 8
Ghosal Upendranath. (30-32)	7 0	Ramakrishna Sastri B.	3 8
Sambasiva Rao D.	1 0	Venkatanarayana T.	3 8
Hira Lal Pandit R. B.	3 8	Venkata Rao Gurty.	3 8
Krishna Rao Bhonsle R.R.B.	3 8	Venkatapathi Raju B.	3 8
Jaganadhaswami G.	3 8	Venkata Rangiah M.	3 8
Vedananda Tirtha Swami.	3 0	Potdar D. W.	3 8
Ramachendra Rao B.	3 8	Khurshed Ali Syad.	3 8
Kameswara Rao D. Ch.	5 0	Deb L. H.	3 8
Ganganna Jayanti.	4 0	Sitaramiah G.	3 8
Srinivasachari C. S.	3 8	Hume Sastri B.	3 8
Pangarkar L. R.	3 8	Purushottam Sonti.	3 8
Elwin D. H.	1 0	Narasimharaju D. L.	3 8
Makoday G. B.	3 8	Rangachari N.	3 8
Avadhani V. V. S.	3 8	Heras Henry.	3 8
Thyagaraju A. S.	3 8	Narasimham D. L.	3 8
Somasundara Desikar.	3 8	Ramesam Justice Sir. V.	3 8
Bhujanga Rao T.	3 8	Radhakrishnamurti H.	3 8
Rajaguru Hemraj Pandit.	10 0	Appa Rao D.	3 8
Venkatappiah K.	3 8	Dakshinamurti P.	3 8
Narsimham Pantulu N.	3 8	Subrahmanya Sastri S.	3 8
Narayana D. L.	3 8	Sambasiva Rao C.	3 8
Satyanarayana Rao P.	3 0	Suryaprakasa Rao Ch.	3 8
Gangaraju Sri Mothey.	3 8	Paramanandacharya.	3 8
Sitaramiah Somanchi.	3 8	Subba Rao L.	3 8
Kuppuswami Chowdry J.	3 8	Gopalakrishna Sarma R.	3 8
Venkataratnam T.	3 8	Goedke H.	3 8
Iswar Dutt K.	3 8	Lakshminarayana Sastri C.	3 8
Gopalam P. V. S.	3 8	Ramamurti P.	3 8
Bhandarkar D. R.	3 8	Subrahmanya Iyer K. V.	3 8
Mitra, Kalipada.	3 8	Hanumanta Rao S.	3 8

Gopala Reddi B.	3	8	Hanumantacharya K.	3	8
Rama Krishnayya K.	3	8	Rao P. S.	3	8
Jaidat Pant.	3	8	Seshagiri Rao B.	3	8
Jayaswal K. P.	3	8	Seshagiri Rao R.	3	8
Sarma Sir B. N.	3	8	Ramachendra Rao R. S.	3	8
Gangooly T.	3	8	Narasinga Rao G.	3	8
Venkatramiah D.	3	8	Sriram V.	3	8
Deb G. H.	3	8	Perraju K.	3	8
Raghavachary K.	3	8	Subbaraju P.	3	8
Venkatrama Iyer A. V.	3	8	Durga Prasad.	3	8
Ramaseshiah Choudry N.	3	8	Kibe M. V.	3	8
Ram Das G.	3	8	Pratapa Reddi S.	3	8
Venkatrama Raju R.	3	8			
				Total Rs.	367 8

(2) *Subscribers.*

	Rs.	As
Presidency College, Madras.	6	0
C. D. College, Anantapur.	6	0
Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.	6	0
Govt. Training College, Rajahmundry.	6	0
Messrs. Arthur Probsthain, London.	66	0
Noble College, Masula.	6	8
Annamalai University.	6	8
Madras University.	6	8
Madras Record Office.	6	8
M. S. M. Charities, Cocanada.	6	8
Govt. Sanskrit College, Benarese.	6	8
Andhra Christian College, Guntur.	6	8
Supt. Archaeological Survey Eastern Circle.	6	8
The Adyar Library.	6	8
The Campbell Library Vizag.	6	8
Raja's College, Parlakimidi.	6	8
P. R. College, Cocanada.	6	8
Imperial Library, Calcutta.	6	8
Watson Museum, Rajkot.	6	8
Commissioner Ajmere-Merwara.	6	8
Mysore University	6	8
Provincial Museum, Lucknow,	6	8
Decca University.	6	8
		Total Rs. 207 0

Grand Total Rs. 574 8

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 31-3-32.

(1) Ordinary Members.

<i>Messrs</i>	Rs. As.	<i>Messrs</i>	Rs. As.
Venkātapathi Raju N	3 8	Nagaraju C.	5 0
Venkatramiah Neti.	4 0	Subba Rao V. (30-31)	2 0
Narasimha Rao Sri T. S.	4 0	Vydyanadha Iyer A. S.	2 0
Banerji A. C.	3 8	Sambasiva Rao M.	3 0
Veerabhadra Rao A.	3 8	Venkateswara Iyer S. V.	2 0
Venkatramaniah Iyyenki	4 0	Venkatachalam Pantulu C.D.B.	4 0
Sambasiva Rao D.	1 8	Fatteh Mahomed.	2 0
			<hr/>
		Total Rs.	44 0

(2) Life Membership.

	Rs. As.
Sri K. S. Jaganadha Rao Bahadur Garu.	50 0

(3) Subscribers.

	Rs. As.
Maharaja of Pithapuram.	6 8
Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.	6 8
The Patna College.	6 8
The Patna University.	6 8
Ram Mohan Free Library, Bezwada.	3 8
Messrs Arthur Probsthain.	30 8
Presidency College, Madras.	6 8
C. D. Collegege, Anantapur.	6 8
Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.	6 0
Training College, Rajahmundry.	6 0
Previous balance from D.P.I.	0 8
	<hr/>
Total Rs.	85 8

Donation.

	Rs. As
Sri Hota Veerabhadrayya Garu.	20 0

Grand Total Rs. 199 0

